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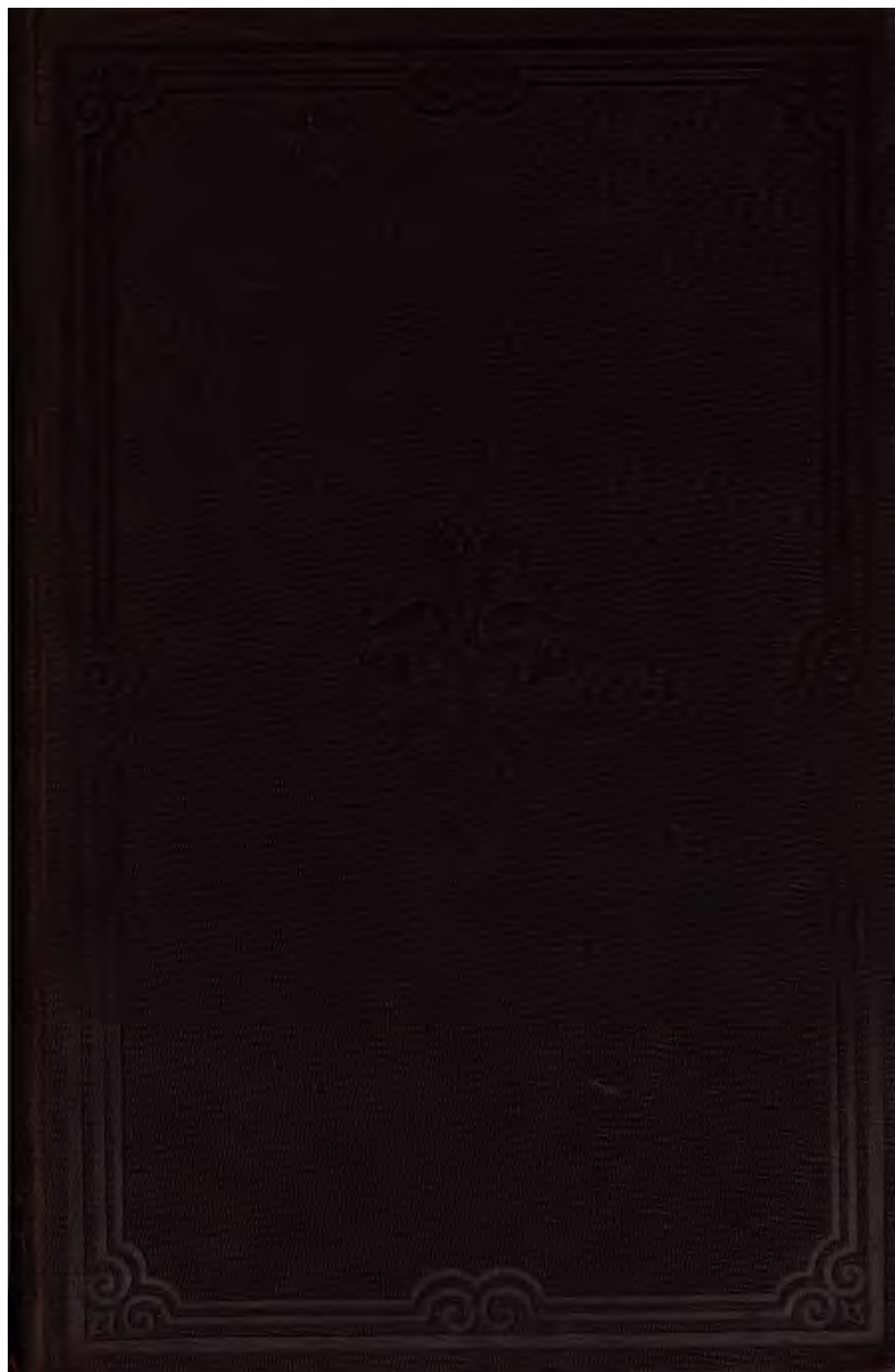
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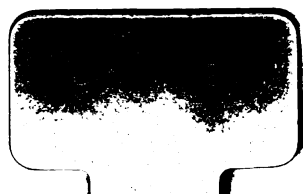
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**INTRODUCTION**  
**TO THE**  
**BOOK OF GENESIS.**



INTRODUCTION  
TO THE  
BOOK OF GENESIS,  
WITH A  
COMMENTARY  
ON THE  
OPENING PORTION.

FROM THE GERMAN  
OF  
DR. PETER VON BOHLEN,  
LATE PROFESSOR OF ORIENTAL LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE IN THE UNIVERSITY  
OF KÖNIGSBERG.

EDITED BY  
JAMES HEYWOOD, M.P., F.R.S.

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*101. c. 41.*



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## AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

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WHILST the noblest specimens of the literature of the Hebrews,—the collection of their lyric hymns, the inspired discourses of Isaiah, Joel, Zechariah, and other prophets, the sublime didactic poem which bears the name of Job, the pastoral idyls of the Song of Solomon, and the sententious poetry of the Proverbs,—have successively received a fair elucidation, and been brought in a separate form within the reach of the educated layman as well as the student of history, it is not a little strange that a monument of Hebrew antiquity of such interest and importance as the Book of Genesis, which may truly be said to form the vestibule to Israelitish laws and Israelitish history, should not have been explained in a similar manner. Although, for centuries past, the light of investigation has penetrated through many a narrow inlet into this ancient vestibule, and although, especially in modern times, the early history of the Bible has been submitted to that enlightened criticism without which it is impossible to esti-



mate aright the literary monuments of antiquity, still, no commentary has appeared to which the terms historical and critical can be fitly applied. By these terms I wish to designate such a work, as should faithfully collect and examine the scattered notices of previous writers, no less than the admirable commentaries more exclusively designed for the learned by profession ; while at the same time, by the aid of criticism and history, it should aim at presenting a clear view of the purely poetic character of the book, and endeavour to bring the collected results of such an investigation within the reach of schools and families. I say of schools and families, in order not only to avoid interfering with the profounder labours of my learned predecessors, and to assign at once the peculiar position which the present commentary is intended to occupy, but also as it is my firm conviction that a work of this description is well adapted to the times in which we live.

Scriptural inquiry has too long been either suppressed altogether, or fettered by theological prejudice ; whilst a system of obsolete opinions has been retained, and enforced with unrelaxing obstinacy. These opinions are still propounded, with as much confidence as if no voice had ever been raised against them, and regardless of the fact that such a studious suppression of the truth may be fraught with the greatest danger to the whole fabric of our holy religion. Forbidden books are only the more eagerly sought, rejected passages of the Classics only the more diligently read ; and we must not too confidently rely on that sus-

picious calm in the minds of youth which such measures are designed to preserve.

No Book of the Old Testament has suffered more from current prejudices than Genesis: even to the present day it remains well nigh buried beneath their weight. Geographers and historians, geologists and natural philosophers, chronologists and astronomers, jurists and students of physical science, have severally read it, in order to discover the groundwork of their systems in its pages, or to plead the high sanction of its authority in their support; all, without further qualification, have pronounced their decision on its age and character,—have judged by its standard the early history of every other nation, and thus, by interposing additional difficulties, have increased the darkness of antiquity; and all have spoken with the greater confidence, as such opinions have been uniformly countenanced even by divines, from whom a more accurate examination of the Scriptural records might well have been expected.

The following leading principles are those on which a new edition of Genesis, suited to the times in which we live, ought, as we conceive, to be constructed. In the first place, the critic must attempt to penetrate the mass of accumulated materials, till he reaches the ancient monument itself, and endeavour carefully to free it from the timeworn accretions of prejudice with which every part has been concealed; and it will only be when the monument thus stands before him in its original form, that he can attempt to make up his mind on the structure and integrity of the

whole, or finally decide on the comparative value of the various modes of interpretation proposed. How far I have been successful in following out these principles, in the careful examination and selection of existing materials, in the unprejudiced discussion of particular questions, and the determined exclusion of everything not strictly relevant, I must leave the many honoured men to whom this commentary is so deeply indebted to decide, and more especially those profound judges\* to whom it is specially dedicated.

Much that is old and antiquated will here be found, because it was necessary to supply a complete refutation of antiquated views. Little or nothing of novelty is contained in this Work; for when the truth has once been recognized, and laid bare, who would venture to invest it with new colours?

The criticism in this Work has been derived from Genesis itself, and from history. All criticism that cannot stand this test must fall into oblivion. Controversy was unavoidable; but it has always been confined to the subject under consideration, and has never, to our knowledge, transgressed the laws of courtesy. In the general mode of treatment, the reader will recognize a considerable resemblance to the contemporaneous commentary of Professor Von Lengerke (of Königsberg), on Daniel; and when two friends labour in a kindred spirit on the same object, and commu-

\* Dr. Gesenius of Halle and Dr. de Wette of Basle, to whom Professor von Bohlen dedicated his work on Genesis.

nicate the results to each other, it cannot well be otherwise. In the translation, I have adopted, with a few slight variations, the admirable version of De Wette, which adheres most closely to the original. I have admitted nothing into the notes but what threw some light on the text, or was indispensably necessary for its criticism. Grammatical remarks on the accentuation, on the etymological derivation of forms, modes of construction, and so forth, (on all which points the commentary of Maurer supplies the fullest information,) have been omitted, unless they appeared necessary to a comprehension of the true meaning of the text; the same may be said of the collation of ancient versions, which have only been cited where they throw light on some particular passage, or follow a different reading. A complete collection of these and other exegetic aids and explanatory comments may be found in Rosenmüller and Schumann. For the same reason I have omitted the lengthy titles of many well-known works, rather than load my book with a mass of literature which, particularly in the earlier part of primæval history, would seem interminable. With the most important works of this description I am however well acquainted. I have read many, in the vain hope of extracting from them some profit; and have perused others, of which, in a purely critical commentary, I could make but little use; as was the case, for instance, with the acute remarks of Schermer on the Original Development of the Religious and Moral Culture of the World, and others of the same class.

Finally, I have only to assure those of my opponents who resist all free inquiry, and especially those leaders of parties who once vigorously pursued the selfsame studies with myself, that this Preface is not intended to shield my work against injustice. Among such men, possibly its very title will be sufficient to decide its fate; this Work can scarcely reckon, I am well aware, even on the simple custom of the desert, which enjoins the Arab Bedouin to receive the stranger and treat him kindly, before he asks, Who art thou? whence dost thou come? and whither dost thou go? It is only afterwards that the Arab is allowed honourably to encounter his guest in the open field, because nocturnal robbery or the secret murder of an unknown wanderer would throw an indelible disgrace upon his tribe. If, on the contrary, such critics are willing to appear fair and upright judges, let them not pass this Work in silence; this would amount only to a tacit admission of their weakness. Let them refrain from mere invective, which, far from refuting an opponent, recoils upon the head of its author; let them come forward freely and boldly, and vigorously attack each individual point, not imperfectly, not with sophisms, not with what is called the exposition of faith, but with clear and solid arguments, in order that truth may be victorious.

## EDITOR'S PREFACE.

---

PROFESSOR VON BOHLEN published his Historical and Critical Illustrations of Genesis\* in 1835, at Königsberg. His Work comprised a general introduction, followed by a translation of Genesis, in which, as he informed the reader in his Preface†, he adopted, with a few slight variations, the admirable version of De Wette, and a commentary on the whole of the Book of Genesis.

In the English edition now submitted to the Public, the general introduction occupies the first volume, in which the learned author has given the result of his critical researches respecting the date of the publication of the Pentateuch; and the translation and commentary, in the second volume, are limited to the opening portion of the Book of Genesis, containing the views of the Hebrews on cosmogony and primæval history‡.

The portion of Scripture which relates to cosmogony

\* Die Genesis historisch-kritisch erläutert, von P. Von Bohlen, ordentlicher Professor der Oriental. Sprachen und Literatur an der Universität zu Königsberg, 1835.

† See above, p. xiii.

‡ Genesis, chap. i. 1. to xi. 9.

and primæval history, observes the Rev. J. Kenrick\*, "is remarkably free from philological difficulties. The meaning of the writer, the only thing which the interpreter has to discover or set forth, is everywhere sufficiently obvious : there is hardly in the first eleven chapters of the Book of Genesis a doubtful construction, or a various reading of any importance, and the English reader has, in the ordinary version, a full and fair representation of the sense of the original."

Facilities for the English student of Hebrew antiquities are afforded in the present edition, by the notation of Oriental letters in European characters, thus rendering the pronunciation of Asiatic words comparatively easy to the English reader. The alphabet corresponding to the Hebrew characters, is inserted at the end of the first volume, and has been principally derived from the orthography employed by W. Greenfield, Esq., M.R.A.S., in his English Hebrew Book of Genesis†.

Thanks are due to John Edward Taylor, Esq., and to a friend and former schoolfellow of the Editor, for the care and attention which have been bestowed on the translation from the original German. Mr. Taylor has also assisted by the translation of Professor Tuch's remarks on Paradise and the Flood, which the Editor has inserted in square brackets (vol. ii. pp. 61 and 161). Additional observations

\* *Essay on Primæval History*, by the Rev. John Kenrick, M.A., p. 14. London, Fellowes, 1846.

† *The Book of Genesis, in English Hebrew*, by William Greenfield, M.R.A.S. London, Taylor and Walton, 1836.

on the narrative of the Flood, by the Editor (vol. ii. p. 185), and editorial illustrations on other topics, are likewise designated by square brackets.

The Editor desires to express his obligation to Professor Owen and Professor F. W. Newman, for their kind aid and counsel on various subjects presented to their consideration.

A sketch of the life of Professor Von Bohlen, from his autobiography, published at Königsberg in 1842, by his friend Professor Voigt, may here be of interest, as enabling the English reader to become in some degree acquainted with the German author of this work.

Peter von Bohlen was born at Wüppel, in the lordship of Jever and the duchy of Oldenburg, March 13th, 1796. His parents were poor; and after the death of his father, in 1806, the expense of his education at the village school was principally defrayed from voluntary contributions, collected by Drost, the worthy clergyman of the parish in which the future Oriental scholar resided.

An early taste for reading led Bohlen to wish for the profession of a schoolmaster; but his poverty prevented the realization of this project, and in 1810 he was sent with other orphan boys to the Military Depôt of the district. His stature was found to be under the regulation height for the army, and he became a domestic servant to Baron Guiton, the General of the French light cavalry in that part of Germany. His master was a kind-hearted veteran, who taught French to the young lad, and listened to his reading in dramatic authors.



Subsequently, for a short time, Bohlen was in the employment of Admiral L'Hermite; but on the restoration of peace in 1814, the youthful German preferred service in his native country, and he obtained an engagement in a mercantile house in Hamburg, one of the partners of which was an Englishman. Here Bohlen learned English, and wrote German poetry, translating from Burns and other English authors. At the age of twenty he took private lessons in Latin, and was shortly afterwards admitted as a free scholar into the Hamburg Grammar School, where he pursued a regular course of education for three years, under the care of the excellent master, Gurlitt, whom Bohlen in after years described as having been not only his preceptor, but his "friend and fatherly benefactor."

Mr. Mellish, the English Consul at Hamburg, presented Bohlen with a copy of Sir William Jones's Works; and some of the principal merchants of that city invited him to their tables, and entrusted him with the education of their children.

Bohlen devoted much of his attention to theology, studying Hebrew and Arabic, to which, with his natural taste for Oriental languages, he soon added Persian. For six months he held the office of Assistant Librarian at the City Library, which aided his intellectual progress; and his Hamburg friends generously assisted in defraying the expenses of his University education under Gesenius and other Oriental and theological professors at Halle.

Gurlitt and Gesenius both recommended Bohlen to the

Privy Councillor, Dr. Schulze, for State assistance. In 1822, Baron Von Altenstein, the Prussian Minister of Education, acceded to their request, and a moderate stipend was granted to Von Bohlen from the treasury, and continued to him in Halle, Bonn, Berlin, and Königsberg. Schulze at the same time informed Bohlen that the University of Königsberg alone presented a suitable sphere of activity for his talents, as the other Prussian Universities were already sufficiently provided with teachers in the department of Oriental literature.

At Bonn, Von Bohlen studied Arabic under Freytag, and Sanscrit with Schlegel; his talents and industry soon enabled him to become a teacher of the latter language in that city to two English boys, one a son of Sir Alexander Johnstone, and the other a son of the celebrated Orientalist, Colebrooke.

Hengstenberg was one of Von Bohlen's fellow-students in the Arabic class at Bonn, and was remarkable for his acquaintance with Aristotelian philosophy.

Babette, the daughter of Von Bohlen's landlord, Von Martial, at Bonn, had married an unfeeling husband, who had deserted her; her sorrows and noble conduct excited the pity and admiration of the enthusiastic Oriental scholar. A divorce was subsequently obtained, and in 1827 Babette became the wife of Von Bohlen.

From Bonn, in 1824, Bohlen proceeded to the University of Berlin, where he attended Bopp and other eminent professors; and from thence, in the following year, he

removed to Königsberg: at first as a private teacher under Government, with a salary of £60 a year; and then in 1826 as an extraordinary professor. In 1828 he became an ordinary professor of Oriental languages and literature, with an addition of £15 a year to his salary.

Unfortunately the cold and variable climate of Königsberg did not suit either Professor Von Bohlen or his lady, and the state of his health enabled him to obtain leave of absence for a journey. His eager and poetic spirit often led him to wish for Oriental travel; but the hard circumstances of his life prevented the realization of such a project.

"Over land and sea to India,  
Dreaming of the call of honour,  
I marched in spirit, already;  
But God and the King and my little wife said 'No,'  
And the Indian pilgrim sank under the frosts of Königsberg\*."

Von Bohlen's principal literary works are his 'Ancient India,' published in 1830; and his 'Genesis,' which appeared in 1835. His minor publications, chiefly on Oriental subjects, are numerous, including essays, translations from the Sanscrit and other languages, contributions to reviews and periodicals, and articles for encyclopædias; among the last of which are several for the London 'Penny Cyclopædia.'

\* "Träumend von dem Ruf der Ehre,  
Zog ich über Land und Meere  
Schon im Geist nach Indien hin;  
Aber Gott und der König und mein Weibchen sprechen 'Nein,'  
Und der Pilger nach Indien fror in Königsberg ein."

His friend Professor Bopp thus writes to him on receiving a copy of the 'Ancient India':—

*"Berlin, 18th November, 1830.*

"Before all, my dear friend, my most sincere thanks to you for your 'Ancient India,' and more especially for the favour you have shown me in your very flattering Dedication. Having but just returned from a holiday tour at the end of October, I have not yet been able to read your valuable Work completely through; but what I have read of it has pleased me much, as well in reference to its contents as to its beautifully vivid style. The Work will prove very useful to every Indian philologist, owing to the judicious and critical application of a very extensive reading. The rest of the copies are gone to their destination. It has rejoiced me much to learn that you have received an acknowledgment on the part of the Ministry for your meritorious and unwearied exertions in the cause of knowledge.

"Herewith you will receive a little present in return for your great one. The entire verbal translation is especially calculated for the first commencement of those who have not oral instruction, or who may hereafter wish to labour independently. I hope you will perfectly reconcile yourself to the division of the words, as more books will appear in this dress. The European apostrophe I never employ as a sign of the cæsura, but merely for the flowing of one word into another, according to the principles which I have laid down separately in the Latin edition of my Grammar.

"We shall be much delighted to see your wife here next summer, and we beg you will remember us most kindly to her. You still go on well? Fare you well! and accept the assurance of the sincerest friendship of your most devoted,

*"BOPP."*

In January, 1832, a copy of the 'Ancient India' was presented to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, and in the same year Professor Von Bohlen was elected one of its foreign members. The Council of this Society, in 1840, noticed the work, on account of the extensive reading and judicious investigation which it displayed. In their Report for that year, they state that "as a summary view of the history, religious institutes, monuments, literature, and sciences of the Hindus, the 'Alte Indien,' is at once a comprehensive and concise authority, to which we have yet nothing in our own language to be compared\*."

The remarks of Von Bohlen on the Week, from his 'Ancient India,' are translated in the Appendix to the present volume (p. 323).

It was a source of satisfaction to Dr. Gurlitt, the preceptor of Von Bohlen, that his pupil remained true to rational theology; that he regarded the Bible as composed of books written by religious and inspired men, who nevertheless were not free from the opinions of their age; and that he consequently explained the Scriptures like other human books of antiquity, and according to the same laws†.

De Wette regards the compilers of the Pentateuch as under the influence of the religious imagination natural to their countrymen, and desirous to kindle among the Hebrew people an inspiration for their religion and their country,—in a word, for their theocracy.

\* Report of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, May, 1840, p. 4.

† Letter from Dr. Gurlitt to Von Bohlen, from Hamburg, June 29, 1825.

—*Voigt's Autobiography of Von Bohlen.*

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Thus, the histories of primæval ages, and of patriarchal and Mosaic times, were treated according to a religious, poetical, and didactic plan; and the Pentateuch became the "theocratical epic poem\* of the Israelites," written without a critical investigation of facts, chiefly designed to inspire the people with reverence for their sacred laws and institutions, and comprising genealogical and ethnographical accounts not without some historical foundation, yet rather the result of fancy and conjecture, than of genuine historical inquiry.

The learned labours of Niebuhr, Arnold, Hare, Thirlwall, Grote, Bunsen, Kenrick, Sharpe, and other eminent scholars, have of late years been devoted to the formation of Roman, Grecian, and Egyptian histories, on a plan of comprehensive and independent research. De Wette, Gesenius, Ewald, Von Bohlen, Tuch, Milman, and Francis Newman, have aspired to occupy a similar position with reference to the history and literature of the Hebrew people; and it is thus from distinguished writers in our own time, that we have obtained the most important results of modern historical criticism.

Von Bohlen's prosperity at Königsberg was at its height in 1836: he had at that time forty-seven pupils in his class on archæology; nineteen scholars on his exposition of Job; and some students either in Sanscrit or Arabic. His private pupil at home was, in that year, the Earl of Shelburne, son of the Marquis of Lansdowne, and now Member of

\* Critical and Historical Introduction to the Old Testament, by De Wette, translated by Theodore Parker. Boston, 1843; vol. ii. pp. 42-47.

Parliament for Calne. The Professor had received the degree of Doctor gratuitously from the Philosophical Faculty of Königsberg, on his first arrival in that university. His talents were appreciated in the intellectual society of the northern capital of Prussia, and his domestic circle was an increasing source of interest to him, accompanied however with anxiety respecting an adequate provision for his family.

A serious illness in 1837, at Hamburg, impaired Von Bohlen's constitution. On leaving his kind friends in that hospitable city, he crossed the sea to London, where he was immediately invited by the noble family of Lansdowne to their beautiful country-seat at Bowood, in Wiltshire, which he describes to his friend Voigt, as a terrestrial Eden.

Lord Shelburne and the Professor visited the clergymen and farmers in the neighbourhood; and the Oriental works in the splendid library at Bowood were a constant treat to Von Bohlen. A visit, subsequently, to the Isle of Wight proved of temporary benefit to his health; but he was never able to resume his professorial exertions; and the winter was passed at Hyères, in the south of France.

The orange-gardens, olive-trees, and rocky peaks of Provence were not admired by the invalid Orientalist, and of that country generally he quotes the following proverb in one of his letters:—

“ La paresse, l'égoïsme, et l'ignorance,  
Le clergé, le mistral, et la Durance,  
Sont les six fléaux de la Provence.”

Von Bohlen obtained from the Prussian Minister leave of absence from Königsberg until Easter, 1839, which was afterwards considerably extended for another year.

A beautiful Indian poem, the 'Seasons' of Kalidâsa, often engaged his leisure hours at Halle, in 1839; and his kind old tutors, Wegscheider and Gesenius, as well as Professors Wilda, Rödiger, Pott, and Tuch, aided by their conversation in cheering the last few months of his life. His last literary work was the translation of the 'Ritusanhâra,' or Cycle of the Seasons, which he completed shortly before his death, and of which he had the pleasure of sending copies to his two patrons at Berlin, the Minister of Public Instruction Baron Von Altenstein, and the Privy Councillor Schulze.

Von Bohlen's faith in the immortality of the soul is described by his biographer as the firm anchor to which his mind held fast, in the prospect of approaching dissolution. His last requests were, that he might be buried simply; that if his friend Professor Wilda wished it, there should be a stone over his grave, but that there should be no cross on his coffin; and that Gesenius should be consulted about everything.

On the 5th of February, 1840, Von Bohlen died, in peace and tranquillity, and, as one of his friends writes, "the best of hearts ceased to beat."

Sacred songs were sung by students of Halle at his funeral, and Professor Franke delivered an impressive address to the assembled mourners, dwelling on Von Bohlen's vicissitudes in youth, his indefatigable and persevering efforts in the field of knowledge, and his death in a strange city, where, as a youth, he had derived instruction from the genius of the most highly esteemed teachers.



"Ardent to the latest moment of expiring life," observes his friend Wilda, "for what he considered to be the truth, our Bohlen peacefully and with resignation awaited the call of the Most High, in the firmest confidence that the Almighty would receive him as an affectionate father."

The following generous letter from the Minister Von Altenstein to Von Bohlen arrived at Halle shortly after the decease of the Professor, in reply to the before-mentioned present of his Oriental translation :—

"I thank you most sincerely, Sir, for the agreeable communication of the poem of 'Ritusanhâra,' edited, illustrated, and translated by yourself, which has reached me, conformably with your wish, through the medium of the Consistorial Councillor, Dr. Gesenius. I have read your excellent translation of this poem, and the elegy on the death of the wife of Panditarâja Jagannâtha, with the most lively interest, and at the same time not without sorrow, as from the letter of Dr. Gesenius, of the 25th ultimo, I regret to find that the state of your health has not allowed of your sending me a letter in your own handwriting along with the valuable present to myself, which is particularly dear and valuable to me as a token of your remembrance. You may rest assured, that, whatever may be the end of your present illness, the sincere interest which I have felt in you for a number of years will not only be continued to yourself, but to your children, and will honour your memory by proportionate care of them. Sincerely do I hope that this promise may comfort and quiet you ; it is with a heavy heart that I thus express myself to you, and in this manner renew the assurance of my devoted and distinguished consideration.

"ALTENSTEIN.

"*Berlin, 4th February, 1840.*"

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On the publication of the "Historical and Critical Illustrations of Genesis," in 1835, the following letters were received by Von Bohlen:—

## PROFESSOR GESENIUS TO VON BOHLEN.

"My most esteemed Friend,

"I have this moment received by post the handsome present of your 'Commentary on Genesis,' and hasten to send a reply, at least in a few words, as it might otherwise be delayed for some time. I have an idea at present of making a journey to Holland and England, and probably back through France, which however will not extend beyond the holidays, and has a very special object, respecting which the little book, which I send you simultaneously with this letter but through the bookseller, will inform you how I have assigned you lately the second pamphlet of the Thesaurus, which has just proceeded from the emporium. You see I have broken the ice, and you will perceive this still more in the course of this winter, when a great work of mine, the 'Marmora Phœnicia,' will reach you.

"Genesis, *i. e.* your Commentary upon it, I have not been able to study as I wished, in the trouble I am now in; but have read enough to make me rejoice over the spirit and sense of it. I will take it with me on my journey, and shorten thereby the autumn evenings, which are already becoming cool. For this public token of your love and kind interest accept my most fervent thanks!

\* \* \* \* \*

"My answer is already three times as long as the letter I received. Yet my conscience would trouble me for writing so short a one to you, if it were not so late in the night, and morning will soon be breaking, and also there are talking and other noises going on around me. Therefore I shall merely repeat my sincere thanks for the great pleasure you

have given me by your book, and my prayer for the continuance of your friendship, which is so dear to me.

"Your faithful, devoted friend,

"GESENIUS."

"2nd September, 1835."

PROFESSOR DE WETTE TO VON BOHLEN.

"Basle, 11th October, 1835.

"Most honoured Friend,

"You have given me great pleasure by the dedication of your 'Genesis' to me, for which I know not how to thank you sufficiently, but still more by the Work itself, which, as far as I yet know (I have only skimmed it, and reserve the examination and use of it for an after-time), is written with great learning and discernment, and, which pleases me best, with the most admirable freedom and fearlessness. You must not tremble, but remain firm, when you are attacked. I always remained uncertain how far I ought to carry my view, that the Levitical system was established in a later age; for I could not deny Moses a certain share in it, and even now I cannot come to any determination upon this point. You have carried out this view securely and firmly. I will not shun the investigation, and the results shall hereafter be made known to you. Willingly would I undertake a critique, but my other labours will not allow of a complete one; but perhaps I shall in some way or other hereafter express my sentiments respecting your Work.

"Your theological faculty distinguishes itself by freedom of thought and scientific proceedings. I beg to assure Messrs. Kähler, Sieffert, and Von Lengerke of my esteem and friendship, and to thank the latter for the programme he sent me.

"I press your hand with warm friendship. God preserve and strengthen you!

"DE WETTE."

Professor Rosen wrote to Von Bohlen, on the 16th October, 1835, to thank him for the handsome present of his Genesis, the introduction to which had interested him exceedingly, and had given new life to the great problem in criticism and interpretation\* therein brought forward.

The writings of Professor Von Bohlen are described by M. Amand Saintes, as having excited the attention of the learned, from the vast knowledge displayed in them†.

Von Bohlen has the especial merit of having pointed out a physical origin for the narrative of the Flood among the Hebrews, the idea of which he traces to the phænomena of the inundations consequent on heavy rains, in the country bordering on the Tigris and Euphrates‡.

A calm consideration of the narrative of the creation led Von Bohlen to select the consecration of the Sabbath as the main characteristic of that portion of Genesis§; and the date of the composition of the narrative was placed by him subsequent to the seventh day having been set apart as a day of rest.

According to the views of the learned Professor, the Hebrew laws arose by slow degrees, and were gradually collected as the hierarchy gained a firmer footing in Palestine. At an early period, their laws may have existed in a written form in the hands of the priests, but the compilation of the Pentateuch as a whole was of a later date||. Probably the

\* Correspondence in Voigt's Autobiography of Von Bohlen.

† History of Rationalism in Germany, by Saintes, p. 193. London, 1849.

‡ Vol. ii. pp. 151, 157.

§ Vol. ii. pp. 2 and 20.

|| Vol. i. p. 280.

four books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, as well as that of Deuteronomy, were never made public to the people before the reign of Josiah\*, B.C. 642-611.

Egyptian monuments and inscriptions show a general want of education among the people of the East in remote antiquity. Mr. Kenrick states that no books appear among the furniture of ancient Egyptian houses; no one is represented as reading, except in an official position, such as the rehearsal of the praise of a god, or the direction of the ceremonial of a coronation; "no female is ever seen reading or writing. The inscriptions relating to religion, which are beyond comparison the most numerous, would be explained, as far as their explanation was deemed expedient, by the priests and ministers of the temple to the people†."

A peculiar impulse was given to popular feeling among the Hebrews, by the influence of the prophets, to whom, observes Professor Von Bohlen, "may be traced everything just and good which the Hebrew nation accomplished, and their achievements were not slight‡."

"When a powerful priesthood," remarks the learned Professor, "is seeking to obtain political supremacy, the religious poets, who by the purity of their views are best fitted to elevate the popular belief, are generally to be found in direct opposition to the sacerdotal spirit; they

\* Vol. i. p. 277; 2 Kings xxiii. 2.

† Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs, by the Rev. John Kenrick, M.A., vol. i. p. 284.

‡ Vol. i. p. 208.

strive to resist its overgrown pretensions wherever the views of the priesthood are exclusively directed either to the mere externals of religion, or to the acquisition of power. Thus the later Hebrew prophets stand as mediators between the throne and the sacerdotal caste\*." They appear, almost without exception, in the reigns of pious princes, who are zealously engaged, under their advice, in purifying the popular worship†.

Under Hezekiah, or immediately before him, we find Hosea, Joel, Isaiah, Micah, and perhaps Nahum, and the original Zechariah; and under Josiah, after the interval of almost a century, we hear of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Obadiah, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah."

Bright prophetic visions are described in glowing language by these inspired writers, and earnest appeals are made by them to the people, based on the religious and political feelings then existing in the Hebrew nation; it does not appear however that the prophets were acquainted with the compilation of the Pentateuch, as a whole.

In the time of Josiah the complete hierarchy‡ was carried out to its full extent; and the lapse of many centuries had then enabled the sacerdotal body to acquire sufficient strength to come forward with its laws, to erect its precepts into an unalterable form, and to refer their origin to the dim recesses of antiquity.

Recent researches into the chronology of the ancient kingdom of Egypt, by the Chevalier Bunsen, are referred

\* Vol. i. p. 203.

† Vol. i. p. 208.

‡ Vol. i. p. 197.

to in the present work, vol. ii. p. 189, and are accessible to the English public in a translation. Successive dynasties of Egyptian sovereigns are enumerated by Bunsen, commencing with a period only a few hundred years subsequent to the date B.C. 4004, formerly assigned for the creation of the world, and continued, without interruption, over the epoch B.C. 2348, once supposed to have been characterized by a universal deluge. A short epitome of Bunsen's chronology of ancient Egypt may here be interesting.

## B.C.

- 3643. Beginning of the 1st Egyptian dynasty. (5 kings.)
- 3453. ————— 3rd dynasty. (9 kings.)
- 3229. ————— 4th dynasty, Pyramidal. (4 kings.)
- 3074. ————— 6th dynasty. (3 kings.)
- 2967. ————— 7th dynasty. (1 king.)
- 2915. ————— 8th dynasty. (7 kings.)
- 2817. ————— 11th dynasty. (1 king.)
- 2801. ————— 12th dynasty. (4 kings.)
- 2668. End of the Old Empire.
- 2654. Beginning of the 13th dynasty. (2 kings.)
- 2630. Beginning of the reign of Amuntimæus, who reigned  
62 years.
- 2567. Beginning of the Hyksos dynasties.
- 1639. End of the Hyksos dynasties.
- 1626. Beginning of the 18th dynasty and the New Empire.
- 1410. End of the 18th dynasty.
- 1409. Beginning of the 19th dynasty.
- 1322. Beginning of the reign of Menophthah.
- 1298. End of the 19th dynasty.
- 1297. Beginning of the 20th dynasty.
- 1113. End of the 20th dynasty.
- 1112. Beginning of the 21st dynasty.

988. End of the 21st dynasty.

982. First year of Sheshonk, the first king of the 22nd dynasty.

962. The 21st year of the reign of Sheshonk Sesak corresponds with the fifth year of king Rehoboam\*.

A few years ago an approximation to a correct calculation of the lapse of time in the formation of a part of the earth's surface was made by Sir Charles Lyell, after a visit to the valley of the Mississippi, in the United States. That accomplished geologist described the bed of mud and sand deposited by the river Mississippi, which extended, in the delta of the river, over an area of about 13,600 square statute miles, to a depth of at least 528 feet, or the tenth of a mile, and which in the upper part of the bed included an area of at least 13,600 square statute miles, to a depth of 264 feet. Observations had been made on the average width, depth, and velocity of the stream, and experiments on the proportion of sediment carried down by the river, proved that every year, 3,702,758,400 cubic feet of solid matter were brought down by the river. After a careful investigation of details, Sir Charles Lyell and his friends demonstrated that a period of at least 100,500 years had elapsed in the formation of the alluvial deposit of the Mississippi†.

Sir Charles Lyell described, in 1846, the above-mentioned result of scientific calculations of the antiquity of a

\* *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, by Chevalier Bunsen, Ph.D. and D.C.L., vol. ii. p. 578. London, 1854.

† *Second Visit to the United States*, by Sir Charles Lyell, vol. ii. p. 250.



portion of the earth's surface ; and in addressing the British Association for the Advancement of Science on the subject, he expressed his regret, that there should still prevail one creed for the philosopher and another creed for the multitude, declaring, at the same time, his deep conviction, which was shared by his scientific friends in the Assembly, that "the further we extend our researches into the wonders of creation in time and space, the more do we exalt, refine, and elevate our conceptions of the Divine Artificer of the Universe."

# INTRODUCTION.

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## CHAPTER I.

### GENERAL REMARKS ON MYTHOLOGY AND LEGENDARY HISTORY.

**AMONG** all the civilized nations of antiquity, the dawn of genuine history (whether more or less authentic) is preceded by a series of myths and legends<sup>1</sup>, whose patriotic object it uniformly is, to trace the origin and to exalt the early glories of the people.

A narrative may be recognised as mythic, when it refers to a period in which no written records could have existed, when things not cognizable by the senses or beyond the reach of human experience are related in it as historical facts, and when these statements of supposed facts are interwoven with rude conceptions of nature and of the Deity, or when they betray throughout a tincture of the marvellous.

Legends may be defined to be those traditions of early times which were transmitted by oral communication, with-

<sup>1</sup> "Mythen und Sagen" in the German.

out being fixed in writing, and which gradually assumed an altered form in the language of the people, and were constantly transformed by new ideas, increasing knowledge, and events of a later date (all of which were insensibly incorporated with the older elements, and at times threw them completely into the shade); until at length these traditions were seized upon and appropriated by the poet and the historian, so that they were never committed to writing until long after the nation, among whom they arose, had arrived at maturity and independence, and had begun to pay attention to its history.

According to ordinary usage, the myth, strictly speaking, is rather philosophical in its character, inasmuch as it is principally concerned with objects beyond the reach of experience; and the legend is so far historical, that an actual fact may lie at the foundation of it, yet each may occasionally happen to assume the appearance of the other. Thus while the myth is sometimes founded on actual observation, and real facts are blended in it with original speculations, the legend is also at times little more than a fiction, purposely contrived to adapt the existing state of things, or some particular occurrence, to certain patriotic purposes; as, for instance, when all connexion with a kindred race is indignantly disowned, when, to gratify a popular prejudice, a slight is thrown on some neighbouring nation, or when observances of recent date are referred to a remote antiquity: in such cases, the legend sinks to the level of a popular tale or fable, and can only in the loosest sense be entitled to retain the name.

Genealogy is the favourite source from which popular legends are mostly derived, and particularly in the East. Even at the present day, the Arab Bedoween transmits

the long register of his heroic forefathers as a sacred heirloom to his children, composes romances to embellish and immortalize their deeds, summons his eastern fancy to fill up any breaks that may occur ; and, as his favourite heroes become more mythic and more sacred as they are further removed from the reality of the present, he adorns them with a kind of historical setting like a glory ; in default of facts and characters, he readily supplies a thread from popular fiction or his own conjecture, to connect the separate fragments, and easily invents new names to prolong this poetical string of pearls to the highest possible antiquity. While thus, among the more enlightened Greeks, history depended on observation, examination, and research, it rested in the East on tables of pedigree ; and hence among the Hebrews it derived its very name of *toledoth*, or generations. The scanty annals of the Arabs, which were never recognised as history until after the time of Mohammed, are nothing more than such separate legends of particular tribes ; and the genealogy of their prophet, carried back as far as Joktan, is entitled to precisely the same degree of credence as the pedigree of the Osman emperors derived from Adam, the fabulous dynasties of the Hindoos and Egyptians, or the succession of the patriarchs, and the subsequent genealogies of the Hebrews [previous to an historical period].

When at length a people acquire a national literature, the contemporary genealogies pass by degrees into the historical form ; the mythic legend and pure history then stand in the same relation to each other, as two diverging lines, whose angle of junction forms the first accredited fact ; and while the historical line grows more and more distinct as it proceeds, the mythic line retreats further

and further into the region of the dim unknown ; and the longer the thread of narration, or in other words, the earlier the origin of the people, the more misty and remote this mythic line becomes.

The transition from the darker ages to history written by contemporary witnesses, may be easily recognized from the character of the narrative itself ; at the same time, however, the credibility of the several narrators should also be taken into account ; and, above all, we must never forget the curious phænomenon in the philosophy of mind, that a nation frequently relapses into a taste for the marvellous when it is falling into decay, for at that period the patriarchal times recur most forcibly to the memory. "The lapse of a long interval of time increases the supposed importance of all past events<sup>1</sup>." This is more particularly the case in those countries, where the priesthood, who seldom arrive at the summit of their power until the political greatness of a nation is already on the decline, have developed their authority to its utmost extent. From the moment that the literature of a country is entirely committed to the hands of its priests, we uniformly find, not only that history assumes a priestly dress, and so disposes of her materials that the immediate interference of the Deity or of his chosen agents may be constantly apparent, but that even the popular traditions acquire an altered shape in the hands of the priestly narrators, and are made to contribute to the same pervading purpose. Nay, in order to supply the whole cycle of national legends with a suitable commencement, and to connect the constitution, in every practicable way, with the highest possible origin, the Deity himself, it has been usual among theocratic nations to place a cosmo-

<sup>1</sup> "Omnia post obitum fingit majora vetustas."

gony and mythology at the very beginning of their history. Even the Grecian authors, who have preserved to us the remains of the ancient Egyptian legends, have not scrupled to commence with the theogony of that nation.

In the systems of Zoroaster and Menu, the account of the formation of the world is completely incorporated with the laws; and the Hindoo still adheres so tenaciously to this usage, that every work which lays claim to the name of Purana or ancient, must pursue a fivefold object, and, in conformity with the general distribution of the Israelitish and every other primæval history, must separately treat of the creation, the theogony, the chronology and genealogy of the ancient heroes, and their individual history. This enumeration includes, in fact, all the various subordinate characters which a legendary history can at any time assume; for since its two fundamental elements, poetry and history, or philosophical myth and historical tradition, admit of an endless variety of form, it is left altogether to the narrator to clothe his philosophical views in what may appear to him the most suitable dress, and more especially to employ all the licence of the Epic poet in his treatment of the heroes of antiquity; he may connect their pedigrees with others, and prolong them at his pleasure till they reach to the very gods; he may give to their deeds any tendency he may desire, and adorn them with the utmost splendour; he may adapt to his purpose the historical elements which he may chance to find in the current traditions of the people, or, in the absence of these historical elements, he may supply from his own invention whatever seems best fitted to advance the interests of religion and of his country, or to stimulate the emulation of his contemporaries.

Speculations on metaphysical subjects, as well as theories and reflections on the origin and revolutions of the universe, on the moral and physical constitution of the world, on the commencement and first development of the human race, were clothed, like all the learning of the ancient East, in an historical dress, and the essence of all these several theories, when adorned and expanded according to the individual conceptions of the poet, forms the proper **MYTHOLOGY** of a nation.

Then follows the age of heroes and of superhuman sages; the gods descend among the daughters of men, and heavenly nymphs deign to hold intercourse with mortals, to found a race of heroic demigods, or to train the human mind to religion and virtue: thus the heavenly Krishna seizes the opportunity, before the commencement of a battle, to remove the doubts of his favourite hero respecting the immortality of the soul. The gods wander unseen among men, in order to observe their actions; they choose their favourites, visit them in their homes on earth, or receive them as welcome guests (as Indras did Arjunas) in their citadel of heaven. To try the constancy of their followers, the gods expose them to temptation, and seek, not always without some mixture of envy, to place obstacles in the way of that rigid virtue which would raise a mortal to associate with themselves; they bestow long life and the richest earthly blessings on the man who endures their trials; they favour him with their counsel and assistance against oppression from without (as Allah on every occasion protects the faithful follower of Mohammed against the unbeliever); they invest him with the power to decide, by his blessing or his curse, on the weal or woe of single individuals and of entire nations; and they finally bestow upon

him the precious gift of prophecy, which enables him to foretell the fate of his descendants, and supplies succeeding poets with the groundwork of those predictions, which they carry down without scruple to the times in which they live. The land in which these divine sages have dwelt, is considered as the sacred inheritance of their pious descendants, and all other nations are regarded as the impure offspring of Brahmins who have gone forth from, or been rejected by, the great Brahmavarta. Those localities, moreover, in which the divinities are supposed to have appeared, are held in peculiar reverence, or, in other words, the awe and veneration with which they are viewed, induce poetically the belief in such appearances; hence every Hindoo sanctuary has its local legends or Sthala-puranas, designed to prove the high antiquity of the temple and of its worship, and the priests cite etymological explanations of the names in common use in order to support these sacred fables.

In addition to the elements we have mentioned, a large space in the early history of theocratic nations is uniformly devoted to the legislative traditions, or collections of sacerdotal laws, which were revealed, as we are told, by the Deity himself, to some pious and godly sage; these laws, too, are so far entitled to the name of mythic, as they are always referred to the earliest times, in order that the established constitution may derive a higher sanction from the fact, that even the ancient heroes, and the very gods themselves, had conformed to its sacred enactments.

Such laws having been founded on ancient usage and the first rude provisions of civic society, and having only acquired their form and consistency in the course of successive ages, were gradually incorporated with various limitations and additions, and could as little disclaim their periodical de-



velopment, as the national wants which first called them into being. It is seldom, nevertheless, that they were openly promulgated as the rule of life and the guide of conduct, until the theocratic government could calculate with confidence on a ready compliance with their fundamental dogmas, and could reasonably expect the same easy submission to any new laws which they might wish to introduce to meet the exigencies of the moment. These subsequent additions are generally marked with the clearest traces of the period of their origin.

It is evident from this sketch of the general features which may be dimly traced in the early history of every people, or which are clearly impressed upon its surface, that the principal aim which it has in view, is to pass by insensible degrees from the universal to the particular and national, and gradually to contract its circle, from the creation of the universe to the origin of the nation, and the fixed institutions of society. In the relative prominence given to these larger periods, we discover not only the general complexion of the legendary history, but the leading features in the national character of the people, just as the individual mind is most clearly reflected in its own ideal creations.

Where the influence of the priesthood predominates as the legislative and executive power, we uniformly find, not only that the laws are based on a moral and religious foundation, and that their provisions have in general a milder character, (where the interests of the hierarchy do not require an inflexible severity) but that even the mythic heroes of earlier times are made to assume a priestly character, and to act in accordance with the national tendencies of the time; thus here an Abraham is set up as a pattern of piety and submission to the divine will, and

there a Wiswâmitras, or some other penitent, is raised to divine honours, through contemplative quietism and a strict adherence to the sacerdotal laws.

The early infancy of the nation, itself, is, beyond all comparison, the most important period in every mythic history, and to it any subsequent peculiarity, in manners or usages, laws or culture, is uniformly referred, there to be combined into an epic unity : at this period, the apologetic spirit of popular poetry is particularly active, in order to illuminate, by some spots of brightness, the gloomy darkness of antiquity ; civic laws and religious ceremonies are ascribed to the gods themselves, or to the early founders of the nation ; thus Bâhratas, among the Hindoos, is the inventor of dramatic entertainments ; and the observance of the sabbath, the vengeance for the shedding of blood, and the rite of circumcision, are sanctioned by the Deity himself.

Arts and inventions, whose origin can no longer be traced, are placed in connexion with ancient migrations ; thus, the introduction of the Phœnician alphabet, which is a single fact, has been embodied in the legend of Cadmus ; and significant names are also invented, to bestow an imposing air of truth and reality ; as, for instance, the origin of agriculture is attributed to Demeter (the mother of the earth), and Eucheir and Eugrammos (Fine-hand and Fine-writing) are said to have introduced the art of writing into Italy. Here and there, in myths of this description, we may dimly trace some historical fact, which has been individualized and embellished in the progress of time until it has acquired an epic character, as in the expedition of Ramas to Ceylon, the siege of Troy, the voyage of the Argonauts, or the departure of the Israelites from Egypt. Still, though in all such cases the original groundwork of

fact has been completely transformed into popular legend, and the traditional narrative has no further value for objective history, the loss is amply compensated for, by the additional light that is thrown on the varieties of national character and on the progress of the human mind. If a nation has struggled hard to gain its footing in a country, and has long been occupied alternately in overcoming natural difficulties and in repelling the aggressions of hostile tribes, its mythic history is found to display on the one hand a sort of patriotic heroism in the extirpation of demons, dragons, and similar monsters, which the poets usually exaggerate and describe as marvellous chimæras; while, on the other hand, a rude courage and a spirit of implacable animosity towards the conquered enemies of their country betrays itself in the invidious tales that are current among the people.

The prevailing aim of these national libels is to cast some reproach on the hostile tribes around, either to depreciate their progress in civilization, and to represent it as borrowed from some domestic source, or to prove a discreditable origin from the very etymology of their names<sup>1</sup>, or to declare that their future subjection, with other historical circumstances, was predicted by the patriarchs of old; in which latter case, the prophetic fiction is sufficiently betrayed by the actual history.

Finally, in those cases, where a people have gone beyond the limits of their own early history and particular traditions, and have transmitted their opinions on the origin and revolutions of the universe, we are struck with the remarkable fact, that their own conceptions agree in their

<sup>1</sup> Thus, among the Hindoos, for example, the Bâhikas (foreigners) are said to descend from two demons, Bahis and Hikas.

general outlines with the cosmogonies and theogonies of all the other nations of antiquity ; and that in some particular speculations the coincidence is occasionally so close, that it cannot possibly be explained by any original conformity in the structure and tendencies of the human mind, but that it clearly proves, that these speculations must have spread from some common centre, or descended from some common source, and adapted themselves subsequently to the peculiar features of each particular locality. In such circumstances, there is generally little difficulty in deciding to which of these fictions the earliest date must be assigned ; the very history of the eastern religions, and the comparison of the analogous myths with each other, is here sufficient to direct our steps, usually so uncertain, through the darkness of antiquity.

In the progress of time, the physical groundwork of the great problems of theogony or cosmogony is gradually lost sight of, and the myths receive a moral interpretation ; those speculations, therefore, may be assumed to be most ancient, in which the fundamental conceptions of nature and of the Deity are the rudest, or are most closely connected with the worship of the heavenly bodies ; because a nation which has once risen to the belief in one God, though it may possibly relapse into polytheism, can never sink back into absolute sabæism, and because it is only the improvement of a later age that spiritualizes the astrological myth, softens its more wild and extravagant features, and adapts them all to some moral end. Thus Buddha raised Brahminism, and Zoroaster the ancient faith of the Magi, to a higher grade of purity.

These general outlines may suffice to indicate the path which the historical critic of every cycle of legends is re-

quired to pursue ; he must seek to divest the introductory speculations and reflections of their national dress, and cautiously to reduce them to their fundamental principles ; he must learn to regard the wonders, which belong to the very spirit of the ancient legends, as an inviolable national inheritance, neither setting them aside by forced interpretations, nor still less proscribing them as the offspring of pure imagination or intentional deception ; but simply endeavouring to discover the original nucleus of fact, and the motives for the marvellous, under the peculiar aspect which they must necessarily derive from their early date and their eastern origin.

The historical critic must also respect the pious spirit of the sacerdotal authors of primæval history, and must not seek to destroy all reverence for their theocratic models, even when, according to modern principles of ethics, they cannot be considered as pure or perfect ; but he must strive, on the contrary, unbiassed by preconceived opinion, fully to understand and fairly to estimate the individual character of every people, according to their own standard of perfection, their peculiar turn of thought and their mode of action ; whilst, guided by all the light which he can gather from history, he must investigate the early institutions of antiquity, in order if possible to discover their source ; and lastly, from the history of the people themselves, he must unfold those workings of patriotism combined with hostile feelings toward kindred and neighbouring tribes, to which the great majority of popular legends are indebted for their origin.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE EARLY RECORDS OF THE HEBREWS, AND TRANSITION INTO GENUINE HISTORY.

FROM these preliminary remarks, we now turn to the primæval history of a nation of Western Asia, which occupied, it is true, no important place on the stage of antiquity, and was neither distinguished by its brilliant deeds in war, nor by commerce and the arts of peace, nor even by any remarkable degree of mental culture, but which nevertheless, as the fountain of a pure religious faith, has exercised a most happy and important influence on all the civilized nations of the western world, and the remains of whose literature possess the highest interest for the antiquary, the historian, and above all for the divine.

The kindred races which spread over a large portion of Western Asia, from the Tigris through Arabia, and as far south as Ethiopia, have received, from the well-known Hebrew genealogy of [Shem], the name of Semitic. According to the position which they occupy, they may be divided into three great branches; the northern Semitic, or the Aramæan, in Mesopotamia and Syria; the middle Semitic, or the Canaanitish, in Palestine; and the southern Semitic, or the Arabian and Abyssinian. The first among these nations who make their appearance in history, are the Phœnicians, who occupied a narrow strip of coast on

the Mediterranean Sea, devoting themselves to trade and navigation, and the Chaldæans, in Babylonia, who seem to have been early tempted by the fertility of the soil to adopt a settled life, and who subsequently attained, under sovereigns of another race (the Assyrians), to a remarkable degree of culture. It was from this latter branch of the Mesopotamian Aramæan [or Chaldæans], that the small colony of the Hebrews was originally derived. According to the legends of this people, they had crossed the Euphrates in remote antiquity as a nomadic family, and hence they acquired, among the kindred tribes on this side the river, the name of "Comers-over" (*ibrim*, Hebrews).

This historico-ethnographical designation [of Hebrews] is only employed, by the native authors, when foreigners are introduced as speaking; but, among other nations, either it or the name Jews (introduced after the Captivity) has always been most commonly in use. As the barren Steppes on this side of the Euphrates, which are still traversed with equal freedom by wandering Bedoweens and peaceful shepherds, could barely supply sufficient nutriment for their passing herds, the district of Lebanon, whose mountainous prolongations toward the south present a succession of rich valleys and fruitful pastures, must have appeared the more inviting to a wandering horde. The nomad family [of the Hebrews], we accordingly find, soon venture across the Jordan, and traverse Canaan, the future residence of their nation, without molestation. These traditions are sufficiently supported by their subsequent settlement, and, as far as respects the origin of the people, by the well-known affinity of their language.

The land of Canaan is of very limited extent, stretching from north to south but 150 miles in length, and being,

at its northern extremity, less than thirty miles in width ; it is only toward the south that it spreads to a greater breadth, so as to measure about ninety miles to the borders of the desert. It contains three considerable plains, which, as well as the smaller valleys and the slopes of the mountains, are remarkably fertile ; while the heights, less favoured by nature, consist for the most part of bare and naked rocks ; on the north, however, even the rocks are thickly covered with wood.

If we may depend, with equal confidence, on the picture of the early state of Palestine transmitted by the Hebrew legends, that country would appear, even then, to have been very densely peopled ; in it we find a settled agricultural population, devoting a part of their attention to their olive-grounds and vineyards<sup>1</sup> ; here shepherds and their flocks roam through the open pastures ; and, distinct from both, are more civilized tribes, who push their trade and commerce from considerable cities, and who had risen (as the myth at least admits) to the purest views of religion and of the Deity<sup>2</sup>. The same bond of brotherhood, a common language, which connected them all with each other, bound them with equal strength to the Hebrew strangers who had come to dwell among them. They encountered

<sup>1</sup> "When the Lord thy God shall have brought thee [Israel] into the land which he sware unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give thee great and goodly cities, which thou buildedst not, and houses full of all good things, which thou filledst not, and wells digged, which thou diggedst not, vineyards and olive-trees, which thou plantedst not."—*Deut.* vi. 10, 11.

<sup>2</sup> "Melchizedek king of Salem ... was the priest of the most high God."—*Gen.* xiv. 18. "God came to Abimelech [king of Gerar] in a dream by night."—*Gen.* xx. 3, &c. "And God said unto him in a dream, Yea, I know that thou didst this in the integrity of thy heart," &c.—*Gen.* xx. 6, &c.



in their wanderings no obstacle of consequence, but were everywhere received with a ready welcome, until after an interval, which the mythic chronology extends to about two hundred years, they finally withdrew into Egypt. Here, during the four following centuries, which the popular traditions pass over with a prudent silence, the Hebrew family increased to so powerful a nation that they entered the field as conquerors, and succeeded at length in establishing themselves among the native tribes of Palestine. This whole period, extending over about a thousand years, down to the first dawn of history under the popular chiefs, called Judges, forms therefore the primæval history of the Hebrews, as it is preserved to us in the books of the Pentateuch and of Joshua. The object of the first work (called, from its general contents, *torah*, or *Law*, or *Learning*) is to trace the earliest origin of the people from the darkest antiquity, even from the creation of the world; to present a short summary of their history before the legislation of Moses; to ascribe all the legal enactments of their system to Moses, their favourite leader; to interweave these enactments with their other traditions; and thus, by a strange mistake of the narrator, to refer the very laws and institutions which expressly relate to Canaan to a period anterior even to their settlement in the country. It consists of five books, which by degrees were connected together, in the same way as the series of lyric hymns, originally distributed into as many sections, was eventually formed into one collection. This arrangement, which had been followed before the commencement of the Christian æra, gave rise to the name of Pentateuch, or *five-roll* (book), which has been generally adopted since the period of the Greek fathers of the second and third century.

The book of Joshua must be viewed as a supplementary and inseparable appendix to this mythic history, inasmuch as it forms a complete transition to the heroic period, details the conquest of the ancient abode of the patriarchs under the intrepid leader Joshua, and the subjection of the native tribes, whose unsparing extirpation had been prescribed as a paramount duty by the Deity himself<sup>1</sup>.

Joshua next proceeds to allot the whole of Canaan among his followers, with a minuteness that appears to prove the most accurate knowledge of the country; even those districts are included which the Israelites could never conquer,—the whole country of the Philistines, for instance, and the Phœnician cities of Tyre and Sidon. All is arranged, as it should seem, by the wisdom of the ancient lawgiver, but suggested, in point of fact, by the patriotic foresight of a later period, in order that the completion of the conquest might ever remain a leading object with pos-

<sup>1</sup> Compare Exodus xxiii. 28, 31 *et seq.*; xxxiv. 11. Deut. vii. 1; xx. 16, 17. [The last-mentioned verses of Deuteronomy are in these words: "Of the cities of these people, which the Lord thy God doth give thee for an inheritance, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth: but thou shalt utterly destroy them; namely, the Hittites, and the Amorites, the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites; as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee."

In the 7th chapter of Deuteronomy (verse 1), a seventh nation, the Girgashites, is added to this list of nations to be exterminated by the Israelites; and in the 23rd chapter of Exodus, verse 31, the proposed boundary of the Hebrew territory is described:—

"I [the Lord God] will set thy bounds from the Red Sea even unto the Sea of the Philistines, and from the desert unto the river: for I will deliver the inhabitants of the land into your hand; and thou shalt drive them out before thee." In the next verses, 32 and 33, the removal of the inhabitants of Palestine is thus enjoined:—"Thou shalt make no covenant with them [the inhabitants of Palestine], nor with their gods. They shall not dwell in thy land, lest they make thee sin against me: for if thou serve their gods, it will surely be a snare unto thee."

terity. The book of Judges does not pretend to conceal the determined struggle which the native tribes continued to maintain with the Hebrew settlers, and is forced to confess that, far from having been completely exterminated, they still remained in their ancient seats, to tempt the chosen people and entice them to idolatry<sup>1</sup>. In this book, and those that follow it, we can trace the first outlines of Israelitish history; but it is only by slow degrees, in accordance with the universal law, that we pass from this rude age of force into the period of genuine history. The records of all religious systems, in all times and in every nation, are so favoured by their peculiar position, that the popular views they contain become sacred in the eyes of their professors,

<sup>1</sup> Judges, i. 2, 20 *et seq.*; iii. 1 *et seq.*; xviii. 1.

[Judges i. 2.—“And the Lord said, Judah shall go up: behold, I have delivered the land into his hand.”

Judges i. 20, &c.—“And they gave Hebron unto Caleb, as Moses said; and he expelled thence the three sons of Anak. And the children of Benjamin did not drive out the Jebusites, that inhabited Jerusalem; but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem, unto this day. And the house of Joseph, they also went up against Bethel; and the Lord was with them. And the house of Joseph sent to descry Bethel. Now the name of the city before was Luz.”

In the next verses, Judges iii. 1, 2, 3, instruction in the art of war for future generations of the Israelites is assigned as the reason for the incomplete extermination of the older inhabitants of Palestine, and the names of the five unconquered tribes are thus given:—“Now these are the nations which the Lord left, to prove Israel by them, even as many of Israel as had not known all the wars of Canaan; only that the generations of the children of Israel might know, to teach them war, at the least such as before knew nothing thereof; namely, five lords of the Philistines, and all the Canaanites, and the Sidonians, and the Hivites that dwelt in Mount Lebanon, from Mount Baal-hermon unto the entering in of Hamath.”

Judges xviii. 1 —“In those days there was no king in Israel: and in those days, the tribe of the Danites sought them an inheritance to dwell in; for unto that day all their inheritance had not fallen unto them, among the tribes of Israel.”]

under the influence of early education, and cannot be viewed without prejudice, or thoroughly understood except by those beyond their pale; and the Hebrew nation, whose whole literature was early stamped as divine, and transferred as such to Christianity, has been far from escaping the ordinary consequences; the whole of their history has, in fact, been utterly perverted and completely misunderstood, because the mythic element has been raised, in the progress of time, to the rank of the historical, and mistaken zeal for the interests of religion has in consequence fettered for centuries the spirit of philosophical inquiry.

It is true that, since the classic authors have been subjected to so severe a scrutiny, a somewhat freer range has been allowed, and that similar principles of criticism have been applied with like success to the writings even of the Hebrews, but the struggle with antiquated prejudice has not yet terminated in any settled compromise.

One party, while they willingly admit the mythic colouring of primæval history, insist nevertheless that the Pentateuch is still to hold its place among historical writings; and Bertholdt so little understands the investigations of De Wette, that he actually fears that they may terminate in reducing the whole Hebrew people, as they appear on the theatre of antiquity, to a mere empty phantom<sup>1</sup>. Hence we are justified in saying that a philosophical history of the Israelites, drawn up on proper principles, is still wanted; Leo has been the first to sketch the true outline in his Lectures<sup>2</sup>.

On the other side, we have to encounter, even down to

<sup>1</sup> Introduction, (Einleitung) p. 778.

<sup>2</sup> Lectures on Hebrew History (Vorlesungen über hebr. Geschichte), 1829.

the present day, that simple and primitive belief, which considers the Pentateuch as entitled to full historical credence, and which supposes that Moses was its author ; so that every new inquirer is compelled to commence afresh with the settlement of the arguments still adduced in support of these opinions, instead of being able to devote the whole attention they deserve to the poetical beauties, and the æsthetic and religious import of these venerable writings.

### CHAPTER III.

#### ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST THE SUPPOSITION THAT MOSES WAS THE AUTHOR OF THE PENTATEUCH.

As early as the second century the authenticity of the Pentateuch was questioned by the bolder among the Christian heretics, and particularly by the sect of the Essenes called the Ebionites, although their doubts were founded for the most part merely on matters of doctrine. The Deity was degraded, as they alleged, by the sacrifices which were offered to him; he was represented as jealous of the tree of knowledge, as limited in his power, and as not even gifted with omniscience, since he was obliged to descend to Sodom in order to witness the wickedness of that city. The Ebionites also asserted, that the plundering of the Egyptians could as little proceed from the Deity as the extermination of the Canaanites; that the account of Lot's daughters, and subsequently that of Dinah, was utterly unworthy of any sacred writing<sup>1</sup>. Thus a few individuals, under the impulse of religious controversy, had already pronounced the same decision at which philosophical criticism has since arrived by an entirely different path,—namely, “That the Law was not written by Moses,

<sup>1</sup> See Credner in Winer's Journal, (*Zeitschrift für wissenschaft. Theol.*) part ii. p. 286. Rosenmüller, *Scholia, Proleg.* p. 4, not. Comp. Joan. Damasc. *de Hæres.* § 19. Faustus in Augustin. vi. 20; xxii. 1, 4, 5.

but transmitted by tradition, and not committed to writing until many centuries later<sup>1</sup>."

Even among the learned Jews, Aben Ezra, in the twelfth century, had ventured to hint that Moses was not the author of the Pentateuch; while others went so far as to admit that the account of his death could hardly have been written by himself<sup>2</sup>. They felt that it savoured of polytheism to represent the world as created by the Elohim, instead of the most holy Jehovah, and enumerated eighteen passages which seemed to them particularly opposed to the authorship of Moses. These early objections were supported by a later tradition of the Talmud<sup>3</sup>, "that Ezra had rescued the ancient fragments of the Pentateuch at the burning of Jerusalem, and that he had compiled a *restoration* of the Law from these fragments." St. Jerome himself betrays no surprise at this statement<sup>4</sup>; and it derives confirmation from the fact that even in contemporary documents great praise is bestowed on Ezra as *sopher*<sup>5</sup> (that is, according to the language of the day, 'learned in the law') for his labours in this department,—admissions

<sup>1</sup> Clementine, Homilies, ii. 38, 40; iii. 47.

<sup>2</sup> In which St. Jerome, Carlstadt and Hobbes have agreed with them.

<sup>3</sup> Pirke, Ab. c. 1. Bababathr. fol. 15. ["This tradition, which the author inadvertently attributes to the Talmud, is derived from the fourth book of Ezra, xiv. 21." Jahrbuch der wissensch. Kritik. 1838.]

<sup>4</sup> Ep. ad Helvid. c. 3. "Sive Mosen dicere volueris auctorem Pentateuchi, sive Esdram ejusdem instauratorem operis, non recuso."

<sup>5</sup> "This Ezra went up from Babylon; and he was a ready scribe in the law of Moses, which the Lord God of Israel had given: and the king granted him all his request, according to the hand of the Lord his God upon him."—*Ezra* vii. 6. Again: "Now this is the copy of the letter that the king Artaxerxes gave unto Ezra the priest, the scribe, even a scribe of the words of the commandments of the Lord, and of his statutes to Israel."—*Ezra* vii. 11. "I Artaxerxes, the king, do make a decree to all the treasurers which are beyond the river, that whatso-

which evidently imply that the collection of the laws could not have been finally completed till after the time of Ezra. Notwithstanding all this, the claims of Moses were maintained by the Rabbis and the older Christian writers, until Spinoza at length followed up this ancient tradition of the Talmud, and ascribed to Ezra, if not the composition, at least the present form of the Pentateuch<sup>1</sup>. Rich. Simon, in his remarkable work, the worthy precursor of a higher style of criticism<sup>2</sup>, and Antony van Dale, who distinguishes the code of laws from the Pentateuch<sup>3</sup>, adopted the same theory, and endeavoured to support it with very respectable arguments.

Since that period, more works have perhaps been written, and controversies maintained, on the age and author of the Pentateuch, than on any one book of the Old Testament, so that we should far exceed the limits of this introductory summary, were we to attempt a complete review of all the literature connected with this most fertile subject<sup>4</sup>. Some critics have merely modified the date assigned by Spinoza

ever Ezra the priest, the scribe of the law of the God of heaven, shall require of you, it be done speedily."—*Ezra* vii. 21. [In the common version *Sopher* is translated Scribe.]

"And all the people gathered themselves together as one man, into the street, that was before the water-gate; and they spake unto Ezra the scribe to bring the book of the law of Moses, which the Lord had commanded to Israel."—*Neh.* viii. 1. "And Ezra the scribe stood upon a pulpit of wood."—*Neh.* viii. 4.

<sup>1</sup> Tractatus theolog. politicus, cap. 8, 1670. übers. von Conz, Tübingen, 1806.

<sup>2</sup> Histoire critique du V. T. (Paris, 1678.) chap. 5, 6.

<sup>3</sup> De Origine et Progressu Idolol., p. 71, 685. Compare also Herbst. in Rosenmüller, Comm. Theol. vol. i.

<sup>4</sup> A critical summary, as complete as could well be desired, will be found in A. Th. Hartmann, Inquiries on the Formation, Age and Plan of the Five Books of Moses. (Histor. Krit. Forschungen über die Bildung, das Zeitalter, und den Plan der fünf Bücher Mosis) Rostock, 1831.



to the compilation of these books, either carrying them back to the time of Samuel<sup>1</sup>, and supposing them to have been derived from separate fragments of various times and authors<sup>2</sup>, or admitting a later revision and arrangement during the brightest period of the Hebrew history under David and Solomon<sup>3</sup>. Some have subjected detached parts (and among others the first eleven chapters of Genesis) to a more searching criticism<sup>4</sup>, and shown the strongest reasons for referring them to the time of the Captivity. Others have fixed on this period for the collection of the whole, but have left the origin of the separate documents or traditions unexplained; while others again have entered on this branch of the inquiry and have fully proved how largely the mythic element has entered into their composition<sup>5</sup>.

In this new path the bold fragments of Otmar on the gradual formation of the Hebrew Scriptures<sup>6</sup>, and the acute remarks of Vater<sup>7</sup>, first led the way to a more searching method of inquiry; but it was reserved for De Wette, who had already been conducted by independent researches to the same results, to prove, with an ingenuity and force that opened a new field to criticism, the mythic character of the whole contents of the Pentateuch<sup>8</sup>. He sought, in

<sup>1</sup> As Newton had already done. *Observatt. in Daniele*, cap. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Bertholdt, *Introduction*, (Einleitung).

<sup>3</sup> Eckermann, Bauer, Paulus.

<sup>4</sup> Von Hasse. Hartmann, *Illustrations of Asia*, (Aufklärungen über Asien.) Pustkuchen, *Researches on Primæval History*, (Untersuchungen über die Urgeschichte.)

<sup>5</sup> As in the *Primæval History* of Eichhorn and Gabler, 1791, and the *Hebrew Mythology* of Bauer, 1802.

<sup>6</sup> In Henke's *Magazine for the Philosophy of Religion*, &c. (*Magazin für Religionsphilos. Exegese, und Kirchengesch.*) ii. 433; iii. 566.

<sup>7</sup> *Comment. on the Pent.* 1802.

<sup>8</sup> *Contributions to the Introd. to the Old Test.* (Beiträge zur Einleitung in das A. T.) 1806.

the first place, to ascertain the true character of the several narratives, and thus to show that they must have been derived from the popular legends of the Hebrews, and that pure invention had often furnished the materials; for tradition, he argued, is in its very nature so poetical, and so invariably partial in its evidence, that it cannot be regarded in any case as the source of genuine history. From this it may be inferred that the criticism of De Wette is for the most part purely negative, and in direct opposition to the historical mode of explanation. He terms the Pentateuch, the Epic of the Hebrews, a name which was also employed by Herder and Augusti, and which, considering the artificial contexture of the mythic elements, appears the best and the safest title we can give to their primæval history.

It was but a few years later, and without any knowledge of his German predecessors, that the French philosopher Volney arrived at the same results<sup>1</sup>. He dwelt particularly on the inconsistent fluctuations of the Hebrew history, pointed out the extreme vagueness in the accounts of the period under the Judges, and the total absence of traditions during the four hundred years in Egypt, and then proceeded to show how poetical and legendary were the minute details of the private lives of the patriarchs, notwithstanding their apparent exactness.

These various inquiries have received a final support and consistency from the philological labours of Gesenius<sup>2</sup>, the great founder of a rational exposition, and are so self-evident in their general outlines that even laymen<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Recherches sur l'Histoire Ancienne*, 1814.

<sup>2</sup> See also a statement of his principles in his articles *Adam*, *Biblical History*, &c. in the German Encyclopedia.

<sup>3</sup> As Th. Paine.

have learned to view them in their proper light; so that all unprejudiced interpreters are at present very well agreed in their estimate of the character of the Pentateuch<sup>1</sup>. Even some among the learned Jews of later years have abandoned the authorship of Moses<sup>2</sup>, and looked with more critical eyes upon the Pentateuch itself<sup>3</sup>; so that now it may be said, that scarcely one new argument remains to be gleaned in support of the freer hypothesis.

On the opposite side, however, some learned advocates have lately appeared in defence of the older opinion which ascribes these books to Moses; among them Michaelis, Jahn, and Eichhorn deserve to be specially mentioned, inasmuch as they have certainly endeavoured to support their positions by argument; while others<sup>4</sup>, by the candid admission that they have been partly influenced by the wish to promote the interests of their creed, renounce all title to the name of critics, and with their so-termed "exposition of faith"<sup>5</sup> cut the knot it was their office to unloose.

Assuredly if we read these ancient records because they "were regarded as sacred by every Christian people<sup>6</sup>," or "under the conviction that a particular providence has continually watched over them, and that they speak to us still the very words of revelation<sup>7</sup>," the door is closed to

<sup>1</sup> As Ewald,—Ammon, *Development of Christianity*, (*Fortbildung des Christenthums*) i. p. 123,—Schumann,—Maurer.

<sup>2</sup> As Ben David, *Relig. before Moses*, 1812, as far as relates to Genesis.

<sup>3</sup> As Jost and Zunz in their profound works.

<sup>4</sup> As Fritzsche, *Examination, &c.* (*Prüfung der Grunde, &c.*) 1814, and more recently Ranke, *Researches on the Pentateuch*, (*Untersuchungen über den Pentat. aus dem Gebiete der höheren Kritik*.) 1834.

<sup>5</sup> ("Gläubige Exegese," Germ.)

<sup>6</sup> Kapp, *Origin of Nations, according to the Genesis of Moses*. (*Ursprung der Völker nach der Mosaischen Genesis*.)

<sup>7</sup> Werner on the first chapter of Genesis.

every species of inquiry, and the search for truth runs the risk of being branded with the name of hostility and prejudice<sup>1</sup>. For criticism, as such, is always incredulous, and has only to deal with proofs; while faith on authority admits without a thought the most astounding prodigies, or possibly finds itself placed in the same predicament to which Wolff was reduced in his interpretation of Homer: "I have imitated the interpreters of sacred doctrine, who, alarmed by the fear of edicts, do not teach that which is satisfactory to themselves, but that which the church formerly ordered to be proved, in accordance with the circumstances of the time<sup>2</sup>."

The question as to how far Christianity is involved in the critical examination of the Old Testament, has been already set at rest by the venerable Griesbach and De Wette<sup>3</sup>. It is not founded, we should hope, on so insecure a basis, that it must stand or fall with the mythology of the Jews; and a popular teacher, we may add, will always be able to extract some religious and moral meaning even from a popular fiction. We might therefore have proceeded at once to lay before our readers the results of the latest inquiries, if an attempt had not been made to revive the older theory by a very recent author, as little characterized by the originality of his own arguments as by a fair appreciation of those of his opponents<sup>4</sup>. On this account, we have arranged, in the following chapters, the most important

<sup>1</sup> Eichhorn.

<sup>2</sup> "Imitatus sum interpretes doctrinæ sacræ, qui edictorum metu territi, non id docent quod sibimet ipsis placet, sed quod ecclesiæ olim ex tempore probandum præscriptum est."—Wolff, *Prol. Homer.*

<sup>3</sup> *Contributions*, (*Beiträge*), p. xii. vol. ii. p. 404.

<sup>4</sup> Rosenmüller, in his *Scholia on the Pentateuch*. See the admirable review by Fasi in *Schulthess' newest Theol. Annals*, 1829, p. 81.

reasons which have been adduced, for attributing the Pentateuch to Moses; admitting at the same time, and in reference to both parties, the full justice of the remark made by an able contemporary, that "An objection reproduced, even for the hundredth time, always proves that it has never been completely answered<sup>1</sup>,—that all the counter arguments are not overwhelming, or at least that they have not convinced *him* who again adduces it, for no one would defend a cause when persuaded it was false."

<sup>1</sup> [Completely answered, *i. e.* so as to be *generally acknowledged*.]

## CHAPTER IV.

WHETHER THE PENTATEUCH CONTAIN CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE FOR ITS OWN AUTHENTICITY, AND WHETHER THE ART OF WRITING CAN BE PROVED TO HAVE EXISTED AT THE TIME OF MOSES.

It has been said, that we may find sufficient proof in the Pentateuch itself that Moses was its author, inasmuch as he is often represented to have "written something in a book." The passages to which most weight is attached are those which follow: in *Exod. xvii. 14*, Moses is commanded to "write in a book for a memorial" an account of the victory over the Amalekites; *Exod. xxiv. 4, 7*, and *xxxiv. 27*, he writes all the ordinances of Jehovah; *Numb. xvii. 2*, the names of the tribes, and *Numb. xxxiii. 2*, the encampments in the wilderness; mention, moreover, of a written law is frequently made in *Deuteronomy*<sup>1</sup>. On

<sup>1</sup> "When the king sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of that which is before the priests the Levites."—*Deut. xvii. 18*.

"If thou wilt not observe to do all the words of this law that are written in this book, that thou mayest fear this glorious and fearful name, the Lord thy God; then the Lord will make thy plagues wonderful, and the plagues of thy seed, even great plagues, and of long continuance, and sore sickness, and of long continuance. Moreover he will bring upon thee all the diseases of Egypt, which thou wast afraid of; and they shall cleave unto thee. Also every sickness, and every plague, which is not written in the book of this law, them will the Lord bring upon thee, until thou be destroyed."—*Deut. xxviii. 58—61*.

"The Lord will not spare him, but then the anger of the Lord and his

the other hand we may observe, first, that in all these cases only small portions are mentioned, which give us no ground for supposing that Moses was the author of the whole, and least of all of Deuteronomy, which is the admitted "production of some later writer<sup>1</sup>;" secondly, that it may very possibly have been the belief of the narrator that these fragments were written by Moses, whether this belief were mere supposition, or founded on the existence of some more ancient documents (of which the account of the war with the Amalekites may have been one<sup>2</sup>); and thirdly, that we everywhere discover abundant proof that the compiler, whoever he was, could not possibly have been Moses himself. The compiler speaks of Moses in the third person; he loads him with praise and admiration<sup>3</sup>, narrates his death with the assurance that no one had found his sepulchre even unto that day<sup>4</sup>, honestly informs us that Moses had written the song *the same day*<sup>5</sup>, that all had happened *at that time*<sup>6</sup>, and even represents him objectively

jealousy shall smoke against that man, and all the curses that are written in this book shall lie upon him, and the Lord shall blot out his name from under heaven."—*Deut.* xxix. 20. See also Hartmann, p. 358 *et seq.*

<sup>1</sup> Bleek in *Stud. und Krit.* 1831, iii. p. 517 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Bleek, p. 512.

<sup>3</sup> "And there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face."—*Deut.* xxxiv. 10.

<sup>4</sup> "And he buried him in a valley in the land of Moab, over against Beth-peor: but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day."—*Deut.* xxxiv. 6.

<sup>5</sup> "Moses therefore wrote this song the same day and taught it the children of Israel."—*Deut.* xxxi. 22.

<sup>6</sup> "And we took all his cities at that time, and utterly destroyed the men, and the women, and the little ones, of every city, we left none to remain."—*Deut.* ii. 34. Again: "And we took all his cities at that time, there was not a city which we took not from them, threescore cities, all the region of Argob, the kingdom of Og in Bashan."—*Deut.* iii. 4.

pronouncing his blessing on the people<sup>1</sup>, an occasion on which he would have been little likely to have forgotten his part if he had had the least intention of ascribing the composition to his hero.

Admitting that the art of writing had come into general use at that period, there are still some passages which prove that the narrator could only have *pictured to himself* the immediate transcription of the Law ; no actual eye-witness could have said, "all the words of this law shall be written on great stones plastered over with plaster<sup>2</sup>." These, at the most, could only have contained a few short sentences ; and, as they appear in Exod. xx. 2—14, even if written in the smallest [early] writing,—such, for instance, as that of the Phœnicio-Athenian inscription,—sufficient space could not possibly have been found on two portable tables of stone for the ten commandments themselves<sup>3</sup>. Since, however, these very laws had undergone alterations as early as Deut. v. 6—21, we might be justified in inferring some subsequent additions, if the existence of the tables themselves had appeared to be sufficiently accredited.

<sup>1</sup> [Moses is here spoken of objectively, or as distinct from the writer :] "Moses commanded us a law, even the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob. And he was king in Jeshurun, when the heads of the people and the tribes of Israel were gathered together."—*Deut.* xxxiii. 4, 5.

<sup>2</sup> "And it shall be on the day when ye shall pass over Jordan into the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, that thou shalt set thee up great stones, and plaster them with plaster. And thou shalt write upon them all the words of this law."—*Deut.* xxvii. 2, 3.

<sup>3</sup> [The size of the two tables of stone, which were in the ark, must have been less than that of the ark itself, and the ark is described as 2½ cubits long, 1½ cubit broad, and 1½ cubit deep, or about 4½ feet long by 2½ feet broad and 2½ deep. (*Exod.* xxxvii. 1.) The tables were described as written upon, on both sides, so that only one half of the commandments need to have been written on one side : *Exod.* xxxii. 5, and xxxiv. 4.]



The historical theory, in this instance, leaves Moses in a difficulty, as the [first] tables of stone are referred by the narrative to the Deity [and the second tables to Moses]; and it is not out of place to inquire, whether Moses had hewn them himself on the mountain, or whether some stonecutter may have possibly assisted him in the task?<sup>1</sup> They are said to have been preserved in the Ark of the Covenant<sup>2</sup>, but in that case no Hebrew writer could have seen them, for after the time of Nebuchadnezzar the Ark vanishes altogether from history<sup>3</sup>, and the only passages which allude to the tables of stone occur in later writings<sup>4</sup>. To the Laws of the Tables we shall return in a subsequent chapter.

Here, unfortunately, we can only touch upon a question which it would require a separate work to treat as it deserves: this is no other than whether Moses was acquainted with the art of writing? For that this is a fact so "conclusively

<sup>1</sup> [In Deut. x. 3, it is said, with respect to the second tables, that Moses hewed two tables of stone like unto the first, and that he went up into the mount, having the two tables in his hand. The first tables, mentioned in Exod. xxxii. 16, are there described as the work of God, and the writing as the writing of God graven upon the tables. Moses is said to have written the ten commandments upon the second tables (Exod. xxxiv. 28), and to have put the tables into the ark: Exod. xl. 20.]

<sup>2</sup> "Take this book of the law, and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God, that it may be there for a witness against thee."—*Deut.* xxxi. 26.

<sup>3</sup> See Hoffmann, *Encycl.*, art. *Ark of the Covenant*, (Bundeslade.)

<sup>4</sup> "There was nothing in the ark, save the two tables of stone, which Moses put there at Horeb, when the Lord made a covenant with the children of Israel, when they came out of the land of Egypt."—*1 Kings* viii. 9; and *2 Chron.* v. 10.

"Which had the golden censer, and the ark of the covenant overlaid round about with gold, wherein was the golden pot that had manna, and Aaron's rod that budded, and the tables of the covenant."—*Hebrews* ix. 4.

established<sup>1</sup>," we are by no means disposed to admit. To students of antiquity, and particularly to those who have specially devoted themselves to the history of writing, the discussion of this question may appear to be perfectly superfluous; and it may perhaps be viewed in much the same light by others, who, obstinately prejudiced against all honest inquiry, close their ears to every semblance of argument, and even go so far as to assert that the Israelites were transported to Egypt by Providence for the express purpose of learning to write<sup>2</sup>; it only remains, therefore, rather than be chargeable with omission, to lay before the reader the latest results which the study of palæography has yielded<sup>3</sup>.

The honour of inventing writing (we mean of course among the Semitic nations, for the Indian and Chinese characters have no connexion with the ancient Jewish) has been ascribed by turns to the Babylonians, Phœnicians, and Egyptians: the decision between them rests entirely on a comparison of probabilities and of the existing documents, as any historical evidence which relates to this question is of far too late a date. The probabilities seem in favour of the Babylonians, who are known to have attained a high degree of culture at a very early period; and a brick with Semitic letters, from the walls of this city (whether derived from the tower of Belus or some other building), is possibly the oldest specimen of this character in existence. It is, nevertheless, very possible, that the Phœnicians may have been the principal agents in diffusing a knowledge of this art among the nations of Western Asia; and, admitting the inscriptions on stone in the Phœ-

<sup>1</sup> Bertholdt, p. 766.

<sup>2</sup> Werner, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> Founded principally on Vater, p. 524, and Hartmann, p. 584.

nician character to be of later date, we have still in the Grecian alphabet (which is known to have been derived from the Phœnician) the most conclusive evidence of its very early origin<sup>1</sup>. But in this instance also, repeated investigations, with reference to Homer, have sufficiently proved that writing was not known in his age, and was not brought, even into occasional use, until as late as the time of Solon,—a conclusion which derives additional

<sup>1</sup> [Jahn, in his *Biblical Archæology* (§ 85), ascribes the communication of a knowledge of letters, through all the East and West, first to the Phœnician merchants, and the colonies of that commercial nation, and *subsequently* to Egyptian emigrants. He also mentions the early observations, made upon the heavenly bodies, at Babylon, which, according to Epigenes, had been written down upon baked tiles, and he concludes, that as letters were unquestionably invented for the purposes of commercial intercourse, they must have been known for astronomical observations long before they were brought into general use.

The evidence of a common origin for alphabetical letters is traced by Jahn to the resemblance which exists among the alphabets of different nations; and in the case of the Hebrews, he considers that the Patriarchs received their alphabet from the Phœnicians, or, which is the same thing, from the Canaanites; and he states, that he has reason to suppose, from the expression used in Gen. xxiii. 20, that a 'bill of sale' was given to Abraham by the sons of Heth: but the passage in Genesis here referred to merely expresses, that the field and the cave were *made sure* unto Abraham, for a possession, and a reference is properly made in the margin of our common translation to Ruth iv. 7, where the ancient Hebrew manner of making a bargain sure is thus described:—"This was the manner in former time, in Israel, concerning redeeming, and concerning changing, for to confirm all things; a man plucked off his shoe, and gave it to his neighbour; and this was a testimony to Israel!" The purchase effected by Boaz was made sure by drawing off the shoe before the elders and people of Israel, without any allusion to writing; and it was at a much later period, in the time of Jeremiah, that any written documents were mentioned as evidences for the purchase of property. (See Jeremiah xxxii. 11, 12, and Jahn's *Biblical Archæology*, § 85, 86, translated by Upham, Andover, U. S., 1839.)]

support from the rude and almost oriental character of the earliest Greek inscriptions, although even these must be referred without exception to a still later date. The traditions of immigrations into Hellas under a Cecrops, a Danaus, or a Cadmus, are utterly destitute of any foundation in history, and in more recent times have been regarded as they deserve; they have no pretended colony to support them, and are not even referred to any precise date, for the number 1500 [B.C.] for [the date of] Cadmus is a mere chronological stop-gap, or, if we may be allowed the expression, a kind of historical elephant<sup>1</sup> introduced to fill up the vacancy. In the case which we are considering, the tradition can only be regarded as containing the admission that writing was derived from the East (*kédem*),—a fact sufficiently attested by palæography.

The earliest date which can be assigned to Semitic writing scarcely reaches to the tenth century before Christ, and even this is not sufficiently accredited; but all beyond that period is the region of conjecture, and it is as easy to add a thousand years as one, where we have absolutely no grounds to go upon, and where everything depends on the extent to which we carry our credulity. Few have gone higher than Moses, because it was readily seen that Abraham was hardly likely to have brought writing with him from Babylon, inasmuch as a wandering shepherd may easily dispense with the art, and as during the 400 years spent in Egypt no records appear to have been preserved.

It would, however, be only consistent to assume an earlier use of writing among the Israelites than that which is commonly supposed, and this may be assumed for the

<sup>1</sup> [Probably alluding to the Hindoo theory of the earth resting on an elephant, the elephant on a tortoise, &c.]

following reasons: because a work in prose, like the Pentateuch, could only have been produced in a strictly literary age; because we uniformly find that the art of writing never arrives at immediate perfection, but requires a considerable interval from the date of its first introduction to the commencement of a national literature; because Moses must have had recourse to many older sources, and particularly Chaldæan authorities,—thus we find that Bertholdt actually speaks of the Ante-Mosaic records;—and because the Pentateuch expressly cites “the book of the wars of Jehovah<sup>1</sup>,”—a citation, we may observe, which appears to have been an unfortunate slip of the narrator, inasmuch as these wars relate entirely to Palestine, and could have been no other than those under Joshua, the Judges, and the Kings<sup>2</sup>. Sack<sup>3</sup>, indeed, and Kelle<sup>4</sup> go so far as to suppose that the patriarchal history was written by Joseph, and that interpolations have been introduced at some later date. Eichhorn admits that prose can only be the tardy fruit of long-continued practice in the art of writing, and yet supposes that this art was adopted at once by Moses, and that the Phœnicio-Egyptian character must have been that which he employed, because he well perceived that a Semitic nation could have made no use of hieroglyphics, nor even

<sup>1</sup> “Wherefore it is said in the *book of the wars of the Lord (Jehovah)*, What he did in the Red Sea, and in the brooks of Arnon.”—*Numb.* xxi. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the following passages:—1 *Sam.* xviii. 17; “And Saul said to David, Behold my elder daughter Merab, her will I give thee to wife: only be thou valiant for me, and fight the Lord’s battles.”—And 1 *Sam.* xxv. 28: “I pray thee therefore forgive the trespass of thine handmaid: for the Lord will certainly make my lord a sure house; because my lord fighteth the battles of the Lord.”—Also see Ammon, *Develop. Christ.* i. 121.

<sup>3</sup> In his *Apology for Christianity*.

<sup>4</sup> In his *Impartial (?) Estimate of the Mosaic Writings*.

of the pure Egyptian alphabet, in which, from the different genius of the language, many essential elements must have been wanting. The happy conjecture, or rather perhaps discovery, which had even then been made by Caylus and Büttner, that the demotic<sup>1</sup> or popular characters on the mummy-bandages betray a Phœnician origin, has received a remarkable confirmation from the researches of more recent times; and the student of palæography might almost undertake to produce the original type of every letter in the enchorial or ordinary alphabet from ancient Phœnician inscriptions; nay, what is still more remarkable, those corresponding hieroglyphics, which have now been determined with certainty, are found in many cases to preserve the original figure from which the Phœnician form was derived. *Daleth* has still the semblance of a door; *Teth*, of a serpent; *Jod*, the fingers of the hand; *Caph*, the hollow of the hand, or the hand itself; *Mem*, the wavy appearance of water; *Wav* appears as a hook; *Pe*, as a mouth with teeth; and *Lamed*, curiously enough, is a lion, from the Coptic *laboi* (which, however, is the Semitic *labi*<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> [Three kinds of writing were in use among the ancient Egyptians,—

1. The Hieroglyphic, properly so called, or monumental.

2. The Hieratic, an abbreviated form used by the priests.

3. The Demotic, or popular, still more simplified to adapt it for public documents and ordinary purposes, and called also Enchorial or 'native,' by Greek writers.]

<sup>2</sup> [Phœnician characters, and those of the Hebrew nation, were in use until the last century before Christ, and are described by Ewald, as antique, but stiff and heavy, angular and uneven, without proportion and beauty; they were retained by the Phœnicians later than by the Jews, and they are still said to be preserved by the Samaritans.

Besides these Phœnician characters, there was also a Babylonish or Assyrian mode of writing, which became, by frequent use, much rounder, more regular, more ductile and beautiful; and as the Aramæan language and literature extended themselves into Judæa, after the Babylonish

It would, therefore, appear that we are not justified in assuming an independent invention of writing in Egypt, but merely a change in the form of the characters, assimilating them more closely to their well-known originals,—a kind, as it were, of ornamental variety of the more ancient and ruder letters. When this alphabet was first introduced, we are still unable to determine, as the most competent judges are generally the most ready to admit; there are, however, some passages in Plato which seem to intimate that it

captivity, the powerful influence of the Assyrian characters was felt among the Jews, and must have occasioned a renewal and modification of the ancient characters, in the last century before Christ, and in the first century after Christ. 'Soon after, however, during the increase of Jewish superstition and the worship of the letters, the ancient characters became consecrated in all copies of the Old Testament, and immutable, as they have been preserved through all centuries, without essential alterations, to the present time!'

Ewald traces the origin of letters to picture characters, and he confirms nearly all the derivations of letters here mentioned by Von Bohlen: the Hebrew Daleth of the Old Testament (ד), Ewald describes as only half of the original figure of a door, which the word properly means, the present form having arisen from the endeavour to write more rapidly. An abridged representation of the Daleth is shown in the ancient Hebrew alphabet, and in the Greek (Δ) delta, but the complete character should be of a long quadrilateral form.

In the letter Teth (ט), which means serpent, the ancient figure has been faithfully preserved.

The most primitive form of the Jod, which means hand, was the ancient Hebrew, Phœnician, and Samaritan figure, with three strokes; it was shortened in the Ethiopic P, and still more so in the Greek I, and the new Hebrew character (י) is only a still shorter crooked stroke.

In the Caph (כ), or hollowed hand, the figure can still be recognized.

The four other letters here referred to are not so easily traced; in the Lamed (ל), Ewald connects the name with that of an ox-goad, to which there is a correspondence in a Phœnician figure. Mem (water) is thus represented, מ; Wav (a hook) ן; and Pe (a mouth) פ, to which last letter some Phœnician and Palmyrene characters may be found to correspond.—See Ewald's Heb. Gram. § 139, translated by Nicholson.]

could not have occurred till a rather late date. He derives the origin of writing from Naucratis, the general rendezvous of the Ionians and Phœnicians, and adds the remarkable observation, that even in his time the Egyptian priests set little value on writing, because, as they conceived, it tended to injure the memory.

Even at the present day we have still to look for a critical and impartial estimate of the early history of Egypt itself: hitherto its institutions have been only seen by a light reflected from the Pentateuch, or under a strong predisposition to refer them to a very high antiquity; although, from the rudimentary state in which the sciences are said to have been found by Pythagoras and others, we may infer that even in the sixth century before Christ the actual knowledge of the Egyptians was of a very limited description. The existence of writing in Egypt at the time of the sons of Jacob has been frequently inferred from the names of the officers in Exod. v. 6. (*shoterim*), and the magicians (*chartumim*) in Genes. xli. 8. The first of these words has, without sufficient reason, been translated *writer*; and Jahn supposes Moses to have dictated to such a *shoter*, because the radical *str* in Arabic has also the signification *he wrote*; but all the forms of this word (*shoter*) in Hebrew denote, without exception, merely *overseer* or *magistrate*: that these men wrote, is nowhere expressly stated, and it is clear that the use of the Arabic verb in this peculiar sense must be of very recent date, as the Arabs themselves had no idea of writing before the time of Mahomet. On *chartumim* [the magicians], see the note on Gen. xli. 8<sup>1</sup>. As a general rule, moreover, we can by no means sanction the practice of founding etymologies on the names of obscure

<sup>1</sup> In Von Bohlen's Commentary on Genesis.



offices, and then making these the groundwork of historical arguments, especially when in both cases the proofs are derived from the very book whose age it is the object to determine.

The Pentateuch, as we have seen, is acquainted with the art of writing, and assumes its existence in Egypt, as is implied in the signet-ring of Pharaoh. This assumption, however, does not advance us a single step towards proving the high antiquity of the art; nor can we deduce such an argument from the assumption, in order to apply it again, afterwards, in support of the antiquity of writing. When we examine the history of the Hebrews down to the period of the Kings, it appears so traditionary and fragmentary as to put the existence of writing entirely out of the question: this art was probably introduced by slow degrees among some individuals of more than ordinary acquirements, and most likely remained for a long time in the hands of a few, till at a later period it was generally disseminated by the agency of the priesthood. David writes to Joab<sup>1</sup>, but Joab answers by word of mouth, for the materials were still too unwieldy (tables of stone, metal, or wood,) to admit of their general use. The Hebrew verb for 'to write,' *kathav*, means properly 'to hew out;' the name for ink [*dyo*] is Persian, and it first occurs, as well as the term for a roll, *mēgillah*, in the time of Jeremiah<sup>2</sup>; at this period too, the mode of acting with a fluid

<sup>1</sup> ["Then Joab sent and told David all the things concerning the war; and charged the messenger, saying, when thou hast made an end of telling the matters of the war unto the king," &c.—2 Sam. xi. 18, 19.]

<sup>2</sup> See Hitzig on Isaiah, p. 395. [*megillath sapher*, a roll of a book. "Take thee a roll of a book, and write therein all the words that I have spoken unto thee against Israel, and against Judah, and against all the nations, from the day I spake unto thee, from the days of Josiah, even unto this day."—Jer. xxxvi. 2.]

substance upon skins, by writing<sup>1</sup>, appears to have been of rather recent introduction<sup>2</sup>. The Pentateuch, nevertheless, is familiar with these scraped skins and the rolls composed of them; it even mentions inscriptions on the head-dress<sup>3</sup> of the high-priest, and other inscriptions that could be washed out again<sup>4</sup>; and thus, without a scruple, transfers the practices of its day to the remote antiquity it was describing.

<sup>1</sup> *Saphar*, to write.

<sup>2</sup> "And they asked Baruch, saying, Tell us now, How didst thou write all these words at his mouth? [Then Baruch answered them, He pronounced all these words unto me, with his mouth, and I wrote them with ink, in the book.]"—*Jeremiah* xxxvi. 17, 18.

<sup>3</sup> "And thou shalt make a plate of pure gold, and grave upon it, like the engravings of a signet, 'Holiness to the Lord,' and thou shalt put it on a blue lace...and it shall be on Aaron's forehead."—*Exod.* xxviii. 36. 38.

<sup>4</sup> "Let him write her a bill of divorcement."—*Deut.* xxiv. 1, and following verses.

## CHAPTER V.

### ON THE ANCIENT EXPRESSIONS AND SUPPOSED SIMPLICITY OF THE PENTATEUCH, AND ON THE NATURE OF ITS LANGUAGE.

It is said that the style of the Pentateuch and its mode of narration are simple and primitive, that the language still retains several antiquated expressions, and that an ancient Egyptian spirit pervades its institutions. Were this three-fold argument ever so well-founded, it would still be of no avail in proving the authorship of Moses. For, in the first place, the simplicity of a narrative can in no case furnish a criterion for the date of its origin, and least of all when, true to the character of a popular tradition, it appears before us in the garb of history: in this respect, the Pentateuch stands on precisely the same level as the other books of the Old Testament, through the whole of which we trace the same kind of narrative, the same simple statement of facts, without any attempt at connecting cause and effect<sup>1</sup> or at philosophical digression: but on a closer examination of details, it becomes sufficiently evident how widely it differs from the books of genuine history; how constantly, notwithstanding its endeavour to borrow its materials from previous times, it is obliged to recur to the present, and to draw its pictures from existing originals; how entirely the

<sup>1</sup> ["Pragmatische Verkettung," Germ.]

artificial texture and patriotic bias of this primitive history supply the place of that antiquity and childlike ingenuousness which are supposed so peculiarly to characterize them. Our opponents, indeed, appear themselves to attach but little weight to this first division of their argument, and would seem to have only adduced it in order to employ its support for the second, which is founded on the character of the style. The language, they affirm, is marked by peculiarities which are only to be explained from its antiquity; and from Michaelis down to Jahn, Bertholdt, and Rosenmüller, these so-called Archaisms or ancient expressions have been commonly put forward under two special heads: the first refers to the use of the pronoun *hu'*, he, which in the Pentateuch is employed for both genders, and, in cases where *hi'* (she) should be used, is merely distinguished by its point. But we find in the Pentateuch itself eleven exceptions<sup>1</sup> to this anomalous practice, which, had it been an established idiom, could scarcely have been the case; nor are the books in question by any means the only ones in which this irregularity occurs<sup>2</sup>. It is to be found in writings of widely different dates, and cannot always be imputed to the errors of transcribers, or to the theories of the Masorites<sup>3</sup>,—causes, we may observe, which might be employed with equal justice to account for the passages in

<sup>1</sup> [e. g. In Genesis, *Hi' Zoar*, she is Zoar.—Gen. xiv. 2.

*Ahothi hu'*, he is my sister, the original form for *ahoth'i hi'*, she is my sister.—Gen. xx. 5.

*Kallatho hu'*, whose daughter-in-law he was, the original form for *kallatho hi'*, whose daughter-in-law she was.—Gen. xxxviii. 16.

<sup>2</sup> e. g. Isaiah xxx. 33. Psalm lxxiii. 16. 1 Kings, xvii. 15. Job xxxi. 11. Song of Solomon, v. 8. 1 Chron. xxix. 16.

<sup>3</sup> [Masorites, the compilers of the *Masorah* (tradition), which is the name given to the collection of critical remarks, on which the received version of the Hebrew text is founded. It was formed in the interval between A.D. 600 and 900.—See Gesenius.]

the Pentateuch. The same may be said of the use of the form *na'r*, as of both sexes, for either youth, or young woman, which last is *na'arah*<sup>1</sup>; *na'r* is used in the same manner in Job i. 19, Ruth ii. 21, and may be compared to the Arabic forms *ba'l* and *zowj* (husband or wife), and others, which can only be distinguished by the context.

Idioms of less importance may be also found in other books, as the second mood or imperative feminine without *h(ו)*<sup>2</sup>, and more particularly the defective forms of writing cited by Jahn and Rosenmüller, which ought never to have been employed to determine a question of date.

All these minor distinctions can, in fact, prove nothing for or against the Mosaic hypothesis, but merely that, in general, every author has modes of expression peculiar to himself, which even his contemporaries may not be inclined to adopt; some forms may have been attempts at innovation which were subsequently abandoned, while others may be regarded as provincialisms; and we might easily discover a number of such trifling distinctions in every book of the Old Testament (particularly in Job, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Psalms), which certainly serve to prove the unity of the particular composition in which they occur, or, by comparison with similar forms in some document of an ascertained date, might enable us to conjecture the probable period of its origin, but can in no case be sufficient to fix it on one particular author. The indefatigable Jahn has collected a list of those words which are either peculiar to the Pentateuch or only re-appear in a few other books<sup>3</sup>. Taken as a whole, it is little remarkable for the

<sup>1</sup> Deut. xxii. 19, [a young unmarried woman or damsel.]

<sup>2</sup> See Gen. iv. 23; xix. 33; xxvi. 35, &c.

<sup>3</sup> In Bengel's Archiv, ii. and iii.

depth of its criticism; and, if we exclude all that may be referred to the ordinary usages of language, only tends to overthrow the very theory it is intended to support. When we learn, for instance, that *'aden* (foot or basis) occurs more than forty times in the Pentateuch, and also in the Song of Solomon, v. 15; *soleth* (meal) forty-four times, and in the books of Kings, Chronicles, and Ezekiel, ten times; that *sheber* (grain) is found also in the Proverbs and Nehemiah; *degel* (standard) in the Song of Solomon; *bat'a'* (to speak without consideration), in the Pentateuch and Proverbs xii. 18; *gerah* (the smallest weight), only in the Pentateuch and Ezekiel xlv. 12, and *hin* (a small measure), also in Ezekiel iv. 11; *k'ēsīt'ah* (a piece of money) only in the Pentateuch and Job xlii. 11. (which book Jahn, however, attributes to Moses), and that *pere'* (the wild ass) is also employed in this latter book as the image of unbounded freedom,—what else can we infer, than that these and other words of the same description were current at a later period?

From Genesis alone a considerable number of words and forms may be adduced, which either follow the inflexions of the later dialects, or are only to be found in the books written after the Captivity. We subjoin a small gleanings in the note<sup>1</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> *ē'd*, a mist, *Gen.* ii. 6.  
*'amer*, he said, *absol.* iv. 8.  
*'atzal*, to reserve, *xxvii.* 36.  
*bathar*, to divide, *xv.* 10.  
*dagah*, to multiply like fish, *xlvi.* 16.  
*dothin*, Dothan, *xxxvii.* 17.  
*hē'*, lo! *xlvi.* 23.  
*zud*, to boil, *xxv.* 29.  
*zē'ah*, sweat, *iii.* 19.  
*chanat*, to embalm, *i.* 2.  
*tachah*, a shot, *xxi.* 16.

*ya'an'asher*, because that, *xxii.* 16.  
*yakad*, to bow, *xxiv.* 26.  
*yakum*, a subsisting thing, *vii.* 4.  
*karah*, to dig, *i.* 5.  
*la'at*, to feed, *xxv.* 30.  
*migdanoth*, precious, *xxiv.* 53.  
*machsheboth*, thoughts, *vi.* 5.  
*mélitz*, interpreter, *xlii.* 23.  
*millel*, to say, *xxi.* 7.  
*monim*, times, *xxxi.* 7.  
*mispo'*, provender, *xxiv.* 25.

[*ne'oth.*

and for fuller information must refer to the commentary itself<sup>1</sup>.

In many cases we meet for the first time in the Pentateuch with modes of expression belonging to a later period; thus in Joel, for instance, and the older writers, *tsum* is used for 'to fast;' whereas the Pentateuch, and other books after the time of the Captivity, conform with the more ascetic spirit of the time, and employ the phrase '*inah nephesh* (to afflict the soul) in order to point out its merit<sup>2</sup>. *Yaresh* (to inherit) occurs but rarely in the older documents, but is very common in the Pentateuch; and the Niphal of this verb, *to expel from possession, become poor, starve*, occurs only in Genesis xlv. 11<sup>3</sup>, and in the Proverbs: indeed, if only a single instance occurred in the Pentateuch, like that in Genesis xxxviii. 21, where *k'edeshah* (a holy woman) is used for a 'harlot,' it would be completely decisive against the time of Moses, because it would be

*ne'oth*, to consent, xxxiv. 15.

*nabelah*, to confound, xi. 7.

*nakal*, to conspire, xxxvii. 18.

*naishani*, has made me forget, xli.

51.

*nathan*, to give; for *sum*, to place,

i. 17.

*sanvérim*, blindness, xix. 11.

*'alatah*, a dark cloud, xv. 17.

*paden*, Padan, xxv. 20.

*pug*, to be cold, xlv. 26.

*palal*, to think, xlviii. 11.

*pitzél*, to peel, xxx. 38.

*pathar*, to interpret, xl. 5.

*tzachak*, to laugh, xxi. 6.

*tzanum*, to wither, xli. 23.

*tza'ak*, to cry, xviii. 21.

*rachat*, a gutter, xxx. 38.

*sachat*, to press, xl. 11.

*shalit*, to govern, xlii. 6.

*tha'a'*, to deceive, xxvii. 12.

*thafar*, to sew, iii. 7.

*theshukah*, a desire, iii. 16.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Gesenius, Hist. Hebr. Lang. p. 32, and Schumann, Prolegg. p. xlvi.

<sup>2</sup> Levit. xvi. 29, 31; xxiii. 27, 32. Num. xxix. 7; xxx. 14. Deut. viii. 3. See Credner on Joel, p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> [*thi-varesh*, thou comest to poverty, Gen. xlv. 11.] Consult also Schumann's Prolegomena, p. xlviii., on *chitekem* (the dread of you), Gen. ix. 2, and on *yibatzet* (shall be restrained), Gen. xi. 6.

absurd to look among a wandering tribe for consecrated concubines devoted to the pleasures of the priests.

For much new light upon the Hebrew dialects, particularly the Aramæan, we are indebted to the critical inquiries of Hirzel, which have reduced the exaggerated estimates of the biblical Chaldaisms within their proper limits<sup>1</sup>. Many peculiarities, it would appear, have descended to the Hebrew and its sister languages, from some common and more ancient source, and might be termed Arabicisms, or more generally Archaisms, with full as much propriety as Chaldaisms. As an instance, we may mention the termination of the second and third person of both numbers in the second mood in *un*<sup>2</sup>, and other forms of the same kind<sup>3</sup>, which are still employed, though rarely except in poetry<sup>4</sup>. Others may have belonged to the idioms of the vulgar tongue; as *sh* (ש) (who) used as a relative pronoun [for *'asher*], *hé* (לו) for *hinneh*, &c.

When we consider, therefore, that we possess no knowledge of the local dialects of the Hebrew language (which, it must be borne in mind, was confined to a small extent of country) beyond the interchange of a few consonants<sup>5</sup>, or the occasional modification of a vowel<sup>6</sup>,—that further,

<sup>1</sup> De Chaldaismi Biblici Origine, &c. (Lips. 1830.)

<sup>2</sup> *Yachserun* (there shall lack), and *yimatze'un* (there shall be found), Gen. xviii. 28, 29; *tho'merun* (shall ye speak), Gen. xxxii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xi. 6; xxiv. 26; xxx. 38, 39.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *hëveh*, be, and *dagan*, corn, Gen. xxvii. 28, 29.

<sup>5</sup> "It was so, that when these Ephraimites, which were escaped, said, Let me go over [the passage of the Jordan]; that the men of Gilead said unto him, Art thou an Ephraimite? If he said, Nay; then said they unto him, Say now Shibboleth, [a current or stream of water]: and he said Sibboleth; for he could not frame [his mouth] to pronounce it right."—*Judges* xii. 5, 6.

<sup>6</sup> Compare *Nehemiah* xiii. 23, 24.—"Jews that had married wives of



the Aramæan dialect, as such, was little known to the Hebrews at the early period<sup>1</sup> of their history, but acquired a visible influence over the writings of the people towards its close,—and that the so-called Aramaisms of the Pentateuch are found to recur in precisely the very latest productions of their literature<sup>2</sup>; nay, that a sentence of the purest Aramæan is actually cited in Genesis<sup>3</sup>,—we are very far from thinking that the proofs derived from the more recent character of the language of the Pentateuch (quite apart from its historical relations) lose any of the force we have ascribed to them.

The author of the Pentateuch is evidently well acquainted with the kindred dialects, even the Arabic, and repeatedly employs them to explain the meaning of names then in use<sup>4</sup>.

Ashdod, of Ammon, and of Moab; and their children spake half in the speech of Ashdod, and could not speak in the Jews' language, but according to the language of each people."—Buxtorf. *Lex. Talm. Galil.*

<sup>1</sup> "Then said Eliakim and Shebna and Joah unto Rabshakeh, Speak, I pray thee, unto thy servants in the Syrian language; for we understand it: and speak not to us in the Jews' language, in the ears of the people, that are on the wall."—*Isaiah xxxvi. 11.*

<sup>2</sup> As the masculine form *vayéchananah* for the feminine *vatéchananah*, they should conceive, *Gen. xxx. 38*: the masculine *ya'modenah* for the feminine *tha'modenah*, they shall stand up. *Dan. viii. 22*; *ya*, [a Chaldaic form] in *Daniel* and the *Targum*.

<sup>3</sup> "And Laban called it *Jegar-sahadutha* (a heap of witness), but Jacob called it *Galeed*."—*Gen. xxxi. 47.*

[Mr. Greenfield, in his English-Hebrew book of Genesis, a most valuable work, says, in a note on this passage, that the expression '*Jegar-sahadutha*' is pure Chaldee (*i.e.* Aramæan) or Syriac, and is the most ancient expression which we possess of those languages; from which, Mr. Greenfield adds, we may infer, that they were nearly coeval with the Hebrew. *Galeed* is the pure Hebrew for a heap of witness.]

<sup>4</sup> "Thus the name Eve is called *Chavah* or 'living', because she was the mother of all living."—*Gen. iii. 20.* [*Yapht* or *Japhet* means to

Such modes of expression<sup>1</sup>, occurring only once and evidently of a late date, are dismissed in far too summary a manner by the generality of the apologists of the Pentateuch, and are even employed by some to prove its high antiquity.

Still more importance may justly be attached to the foreign terms adopted in the Pentateuch, those for instance which betray an Hellenic or a distant Asiatic origin (*e. g.* *phitdah*<sup>2</sup>, topaz, and other products with Sanscrit names), which could only have been introduced in times of frequent contact and active intercourse with strangers<sup>3</sup>. But the strongest evidence is that supplied by the foreign names so closely interwoven with the myths of its primæval history; such as geographical appellations, borrowed from Eastern Asia (as Ararat, Sinear, Chiddekel<sup>4</sup>), and even Persian

enlarge. Gen. ix. 27.] "Abraham" meant a father of a great multitude; probably derived, according to Greenfield, from *av* and the Arabic *ruham*, numerous, copious.—*Gen.* xvii. 5.

"They called his name Esau" (*Esav*, that is 'hairy,' covered with hair, as denoted in the Arabic *athai*, which is merely a dialectical variation).—Greenfield, Eng. Heb.; *Gen.* xxv. 25.

"He called the name of the well Esek (or contention)."—*Gen.* xxvi. 20.

"She called his name Zebulun" (dwelling).—*Gen.* xxx. 20.

"They (the children of Israel) said it is Manna, for they wist not what it was."—*Exod.* xvi. 15.

<sup>1</sup> ἁπᾶς λεγόμενα.

<sup>2</sup> See Ex. xxviii. 17. [*Phitdah* is derived probably from *pfta*, Sanscrit for yellow.]

<sup>3</sup> Compare *kutoneth* (coats), Gen. iii. 21; *kerub* (a cherub), iii. 24; *terāphim* (images), xxxi. 19. *Mekeratheihem*, (swords), Gen. xlix. 5.

<sup>4</sup> The conjecture of Schumann, that *Chiddekel* may have been formed by the Semitic author from the root *chadad*, in allusion to the rapid current of the river (see note on Gen. ii. 14.), derives a remarkable confirmation from the interpretation of the Rabbi Petachja in the twelfth century, who also proves the use of rafts in the navigation of that river. (Comp. Comment. 8. 86.): 8 Nouv. Journal Asiat. viii. p. 277.

words, which by their later forms betray the very date of their adoption, e. g. *tubal* (brass), Gen. iv. 22; *Pharnak* (Pers. *Farnak*), Pharnaces, Num. xxxiv. 25; *dath* (Pers. *dādah*, law), Deut. xxxiii. 2; for the derivation of this latter word<sup>1</sup> is too well established to admit the interpretation of Ewald<sup>2</sup>, or the far-fetched conjecture of Böttcher<sup>3</sup>.

Apart from all these separate arguments, which, taken together, are sufficient in themselves to establish beyond a doubt the later origin of the Pentateuch, the whole external form and pervading character of the language are found to differ in no respect from those of the other writings of the Hebrews. The first four books in particular follow precisely in the self-same track with the purer productions of their literature; whilst the fragments of poetry, on the contrary, which are scattered through them, frequently vary so much in their tone and colouring<sup>4</sup>, that they can no more be ascribed to the author of the rest of the work than the book of Deuteronomy itself, clearly stamped as it is with the forms and idioms of a far more recent date. If, therefore, the whole of the Pentateuch, or even single portions, were actually written in the lifetime of Moses, it clearly follows that the whole living language, the entire circle of popular conceptions, must have remained unchanged for no less than a thousand years; nay, that a single individual must have created, on

<sup>1</sup> In the Septuagint ἀγγελοι (*messengers, angels*), also founded on a Persian etymology, i. e. *aīsh dādah*, 'fire-born.'

<sup>2</sup> *Dath*, disease, Krit. Gram. p. 483.

<sup>3</sup> *Ashdath*, shooting fire, for lightning,—Specimens of Interpretation of the Old Test. (Proben alttest. Schrifterklär.) p. 9. See Hoffmann on the St. Commentatio in Deut. xxxiii. p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Gen. xlix. with Deut. xxxiii.

the instant, the historical-epic, the prophetic, and rhetorical styles, in the whole of their extent<sup>1</sup>: to those who are willing to believe all this for the sake of supporting an untenable hypothesis, it is useless, we believe, to submit another argument.

During the two centuries which are open to our view, the character of the Hebrew literature underwent a great and rapid change, though their whole religious system retained its form unaltered,—a fact which forms a sufficient answer to the assertion of Bertholdt, “that when the culture of a nation is completely stationary, even its language may remain unchanged for centuries.” The whole assumption, however, that the Israelites were constantly precluded, by their laws, religion and customs, from all intercourse with the surrounding nations, is itself entirely gratuitous; it is clear, on the contrary, that the Syrians, Egyptians and Assyrians, the Chaldæans and Phœnicians, as well as the other and aboriginal inhabitants of the country, never ceased to exercise a considerable influence upon them; and, had it been otherwise, a living language could never be arrested in its progress. Jahn supposes that the neighbouring nations employed some cognate dialects, and could therefore produce but little change in the Hebrew; the extent, however, to which it was influenced by the Aramæan is abundantly evident.

Rosenmüller and others affirm that the Hebrew is less variable than other languages, because only the consonants are written: this inference, however, would apply with equal force to the Arabic, and yet it is a well-known fact, that, independently of all influence from without, this lan-

<sup>1</sup> See De Wette, Introduction, p. 210.

guage has undergone in short periods considerable changes in its structure, and that it differs very widely in its dialects<sup>1</sup>. Others, finally, have endeavoured to prove a studied imitation of the Pentateuch in the other books of the Old Testament<sup>2</sup>, and in support of this theory have appealed to the example of the Koran, which became, they say, the model for all subsequent times,—an assertion, however, which is only true with respect to a few detached sentences. The case of Quintus Smyrnæus, who in the fifth century wrote a laboured imitation of Homer, is quite inapplicable here; such an imitation would be attended with much less difficulty in the measured hexameter of the Grecian Epic, than in any irregular prose: Luther's translation of the Bible is still less to the point, for we need only look at the first edition to be convinced of the change which it has undergone.

The Hebrew writings, on the contrary, exhibit no trace of imitation, but are all the productions of the same spirit, in the very same form<sup>3</sup>; and it would be far easier, where any relation exists, to trace in the Pentateuch itself the influence of the more ancient specimens of the Hebrew literature. This attempt [to prove a studied imitation of the Pentateuch in the other books of the Old Testament,] may therefore be pronounced to be a complete failure, and Eichhorn's dogmatical assertions, that the books of the Pentateuch "were highly valued as formularies of lan-

<sup>1</sup> See Eichhorn on the various dialects of the Arabian Language (*Ueber die verschiedenen Mundarten der Arab. Sprache*), p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Jahn, *Introd.* p. 84; and in Bengel, *Archiv*, i. 579. Eckermann, *Contributions* (*Beiträge*), p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> See Vater, *Comment.* p. 670. Jost, *Hist. of Jews*, iii. 208. Ammon, *Development of Christianity*, i. 122.

guage, and diligently as well as generally read, and that the national hymns were learnt by heart and universally sung<sup>1</sup>," are entirely destitute of all historical foundation, and seem only to have been adduced in order to blind the inquirer.

<sup>1</sup> Introd. ii. § 406.

## CHAPTER VI.

ARGUMENTS DERIVED FROM THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN  
SPIRIT SUPPOSED TO PERVADE THE PENTATEUCH;  
CONNEXION OF THE HEBREWS WITH EGYPT; MI-  
RACLES OF MOSES.

WE cannot admit with Eichhorn<sup>1</sup> that the influence of ancient Egypt, so evident, it is said, in every part of the Pentateuch, "will stand the test of the severest criticism," though its share in the Levitical laws is certainly not to be disputed. "He," says Credner<sup>2</sup>, "who, after studying the Pentateuch takes up the prophetic books of the Old Testament, with the expectation of recognizing in them the bitter enmity towards Egypt, which he had encountered in almost every page, will find he has been strangely mistaken." And this bitter feeling, so strongly expressed in the narrative which precedes the departure from Egypt, and in the death of the first-born of the Egyptians, must have been the fruit (like all the myths of the Pentateuch, which take their rise in national antipathies) of some close and hostile connexion with this people.

Hence the first question which we have to consider, and which must be answered without any reference to the Pentateuch, is at what periods the Hebrews stood in this

<sup>1</sup> Introd. § 411, 415.

<sup>2</sup> Introd. to Joel, p. 78.

connexion with the Egyptians? The first example which history records of a friendly intercourse between the two nations occurs in the reign of Solomon, who brought a daughter of Pharaoh as his bride to Jerusalem<sup>1</sup>, whereupon the Egyptian king came himself into Palestine, conquered the Canaanites, and gave the booty as a dowry to his daughter<sup>2</sup>. The alliance, therefore, was at this period so intimate, that we are justified in dating from it the preponderating influence of Egypt, more especially with reference to religion: this view is confirmed by many intimations from history, and even the Jewish annalist does not attempt to conceal how eagerly Solomon adopted the rites and worship of the stranger<sup>3</sup>. Soon afterwards Jeroboam fled to Egypt<sup>4</sup>, which became the constant asylum of political fugitives; under Hosea (B.C. 722) and Hezekiah a fresh alliance was formed<sup>5</sup>; at this time Sethos and Tirhaka were in league with the Hebrews<sup>6</sup>. Not only did expeditions from

<sup>1</sup> "And Solomon made affinity with Pharaoh king of Egypt, and took Pharaoh's daughter, and brought her into the city of David, until he had made an end of building his own house, and the house of the Lord, and the wall of Jerusalem round about."—1 *Kings* iii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> "For Pharaoh king of Egypt had gone up, and taken Gezer, and burnt it with fire, and slain the Canaanites that dwelt in the city, and given it for a present unto his daughter, Solomon's wife."—1 *Kings* ix. 16.

<sup>3</sup> 1 *Kings*, xi.

<sup>4</sup> "Solomon sought therefore to kill Jeroboam. And Jeroboam arose, and fled into Egypt, unto Shishak king of Egypt, and was in Egypt until the death of Solomon."—1 *Kings* xi. 40.

<sup>5</sup> See Gesenius on Isaiah, i. p. 826, 967.

<sup>6</sup> Compare the following passages:—

"And the king of Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea; for he had sent messengers to So king of Egypt, and brought no present to the king of Assyria, as he had done year by year: therefore the king of Assyria shut him up, and bound him in prison."—2 *Kings* xvii. 4.

"And when he heard say of Tirhakah king of Ethiopia, Behold, he is



Egypt frequently come into Palestine, but, what is of far greater moment, whole colonies of Jews emigrated to the valley of the Nile, to seek there aid and protection, rather than submit to the odious yoke of the Assyrians<sup>1</sup>; and eventually Judah itself fell under the dominion of Egypt<sup>2</sup>. Finally, during the Chaldean war, many of the Israelites took refuge in Egypt<sup>3</sup>, and the fugitives were not confined to the lower orders of the people, as even the prophet Uriah

come out to fight against thee; he sent messengers again unto Hezekiah."—2 *Kings* xix. 9.

"Ephraim also is like a silly dove without heart: they call to Egypt, they go to Assyria."—*Hosea* vii. 11.

"He shall not return into the land of Egypt, but the Assyrian shall be his king, because they refused to return."—*Hosea* xi. 5.

"And they do make a covenant with the Assyrians and oil is carried into Egypt.

"The Lord hath also a controversy with Judah, and will punish Jacob according to his ways; according to his doings will he recompense him."—*Hosea* xii. 2; see also *Isaiah* xxviii. to xxxiii.

"How then wilt thou turn away the face of one captain of the least of my master's servants, and put thy trust on Egypt for chariots and horsemen?"—*Isaiah* xxxvi. 9.

And Hitzig on *Isaiah* xi. 11 :—

"And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of his people, which shall be left, from Assyria, and from Egypt, and from Pathros, and from Cush, and from Elam, and from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the islands of the sea."—*Isaiah* xi. 11.

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Jerem.* xlii.—xliv. and *Hosea* ix. 6. "For, lo, they are gone because of destruction: Egypt shall gather them up, Memphis shall bury them: the pleasant places for their silver, nettles shall possess them: thorns shall be in their tabernacles." *Josephus, Archæol.* x. 9.

<sup>2</sup> "And Pharaoh-Nechoh put him in bands at Riblah in the land of Hamath, that he might not reign in Jerusalem; and put the land to a tribute of an hundred talents of silver, and a talent of gold."—2 *Kings* xxiii. 33. *De Wette, Introd.* § 149.

<sup>3</sup> "And as the evil figs, which cannot be eaten, they are so evil; surely thus saith the Lord, So will I give Zedekiah the king of Judah,

was among them<sup>1</sup>. Psammetichus (B.C. 696), from whom we may date the first dawn of Egyptian history<sup>2</sup>, and to whom Isaiah appears to refer (xix. 4.)<sup>3</sup>, opened his harbours to strangers, and the Hebrews, we may be sure, would not have been backward in availing themselves of his generosity. Thus then it appears that at every period, from the reign of Solomon to the time of the Captivity, the intercourse between these countries was active and unremitting. At a very early period, Jews had been transported as far as Upper Egypt and Æthiopia by the slave-trade of the Phœnicians<sup>4</sup>; and at a later date, a priest called Onias built a temple at Leontopolis, on the Nomos of Heliopolis,

and his princes, and the residue of Jerusalem, that remain in this land, and them that dwell in the land of Egypt."—*Jerem.* xxiv. 8.

"And they departed, and dwelt in the habitation of Chimham, which is by Bethlehem, to go to enter into Egypt."—*Jerem.* xli. 17.

"So they came into the land of Egypt."—*Jerem.* xliii. 7.

<sup>1</sup> "And when Jehoiakim the king, with all his mighty men, and all the princes, heard his words, the king sought to put him to death: but when Urijah heard it, he was afraid, and fled, and went into Egypt."—*Jerem.* xxvi. 21.

<sup>2</sup> See the Author's work on Ancient India, i. 120.

<sup>3</sup> "And the Egyptians will I give over into the hand of a cruel lord; and a fierce king shall rule over them, saith the Lord, the Lord of Hosts."—*Isaiah* xix. 4.

<sup>4</sup> "Because ye have taken my silver and my gold, and have carried into your temples my goodly pleasant things:

"The children also of Judah and the children of Jerusalem have ye sold unto the Grecians, that ye might remove them far from their border.

"Behold, I will raise them out of the place whither ye have sold them, and will return your recompence upon your own head:

"And I will sell your sons and your daughters into the land of the children of Judah, and they shall sell them to the Sabeans, to a people afar off: for the Lord hath spoken it."—*Joel* iii. 5—8.

"Thus saith the Lord; for three transgressions of Gaza, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they carried away captive the whole captivity, to deliver them up to Edom."—*Amos* i. 6.

for the use of his countrymen who resided there. Large numbers of Jews appear to have taken advantage of the toleration which then reigned in the land, and according to a classic passage in Isaiah<sup>1</sup>, (to which Jeremiah supplies the best commentary<sup>2</sup>), they spoke their own language in no less than five cities of Egypt<sup>3</sup>. It is true that in the eyes of the prophets every dispersion of their people appeared as a national calamity, that their threats likewise often refer to the valley of the Nile, whither so many of their countrymen had been carried as slaves<sup>4</sup>, but even they did not succeed in putting a stop to the national intercourse. The Egyptians indeed were so far privileged beyond all other nations, that according to the provisions of the law they were not considered "an abomination," but might in the third generation be admitted into the congregation<sup>5</sup>.

This brief historical outline, which might be extended much further, will still be sufficient to show what value we ought to attach to the assertion put forward by Bertholdt<sup>6</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> "In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of Hosts; one shall be called the city of destruction."—*Isaiah* xix. 18.

<sup>2</sup> The word that came to Jeremiah concerning all the Jews which dwell in the land of Egypt, which dwell at Migdol, and at Tahpanhes, and at Noph, and in the country of Pathros."—*Jerem.* xlv. 1. Comp. *Ezek.* xxix. and xxx.

<sup>3</sup> See Hitzig, *Isaiah*, p. 219. Comp. *Joseph. Arch.* xiii. 3, 1.

<sup>4</sup> "Egypt shall be a desolation, and Edom shall be a desolate wilderness, for the violence against the children of Judah, because they have shed innocent blood in their land."—*Joel* iii. 19.

"Israel has cast off the thing that is good: the enemy shall pursue him."—*Hosea* viii. 3.

<sup>5</sup> "Thou shalt not abhor an Edomite; for he is thy brother: thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian; because thou wast a stranger in his land."—*Deut.* xxiii. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Page 789.

“that after the time of Moses, no Hebrew was acquainted with Egypt.” We find, on the contrary, that the knowledge of this country, the familiarity with its laws and institutions, emerges, as it were, for the first time in the writings of the older prophets, and gradually increases by very appreciable steps down to the time of the book of Job. Instead, therefore, of regarding the Pentateuch as the original source of all that was known concerning the valley of the Nile, we have rather to inquire how far its own knowledge extends. It is familiar we find with the fertile soil of Egypt and its mode of irrigation<sup>1</sup>, with the pasture grounds of Goshen on the shores of the Red Sea<sup>2</sup>, and with several of the neighbouring cities, as Heliopolis, Rameses, and Tanis<sup>3</sup>, as well as with the names of the various native tribes as far as Upper Egypt. In the account of the government it agrees very closely with the description which we have received from the ancient classic authors<sup>4</sup>; the king has his court<sup>5</sup>, his grand vizier, who is

<sup>1</sup> “And Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered everywhere, before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt, as thou comest unto Zoar.”—*Gen.* xiii. 10.

“For the land, whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs.”—*Deut.* xi. 10.

<sup>2</sup> “And thou shalt dwell in the land of Goshen, and thou shalt be near unto me, thou, and thy children, and thy children’s children, and thy flocks, and thy herds, and all that thou hast.”—*Gen.* xlv. 10.

<sup>3</sup> “And Pharaoh called Joseph’s name Zaphnath-paaneah, and he gave him to wife Asenath the daughter of Poti-pherah, priest of On. And Joseph went out over all the land of Egypt.”—*Gen.* xli. 45.

[On, called in the Septuagint, Heliopolis.]

“Now Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt.”—*Num.* xiii. 22. [Zoan, called in the Septuagint, Tanis.]

<sup>4</sup> Comp. especially xlvii. 21—24 with Herod. ii. 108.

<sup>5</sup> “The princes also of Pharaoh saw her, and commended her before

entrusted with the charge of the royal signet<sup>1</sup>, his cup-bearer and chief baker<sup>2</sup>, his eunuchs and his body-guard<sup>3</sup>; is surrounded by priests, and keeps his soothsayer and interpreter of dreams<sup>4</sup>. The Egyptians are divided into castes which do not eat together<sup>5</sup>: shepherds are held in abomination<sup>6</sup>, and kine as particularly sacred<sup>7</sup>; they carry

Pharaoh: and the woman was taken into Pharaoh's house."—*Gen.* xii. 15.

<sup>1</sup> "And Pharaoh took off his ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck;

"And he made him to ride in the second chariot which he had; and they cried before him, Bow the knee; and he made him ruler over all the land of Egypt."—*Gen.* xli. 42, 43.

<sup>2</sup> "And it came to pass after these things, that the butler of the king of Egypt and his baker had offended their lord the king of Egypt."—*Gen.* xl. 1.

<sup>3</sup> "And the Midianites sold him into Egypt unto Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, and captain of the guard."—*Gen.* xxxvii. 36.

<sup>4</sup> "And it came to pass in the morning that his spirit was troubled: and he sent and called for all the magicians of Egypt, and all the wise men thereof: and Pharaoh told them his dream; but there was none that could interpret them unto Pharaoh."—*Gen.* xli. 8.

"Then Pharaoh also called the wise men and the sorcerers; now the magicians of Egypt, they also did in like manner with their enchantments."—*Exod.* vii. 11.

<sup>5</sup> "And they set on for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and for the Egyptians, which did eat with him, by themselves: because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews; for that is an abomination unto the Egyptians."—*Gen.* xliii. 32.

<sup>6</sup> "That ye shall say, Thy servants' trade hath been about cattle from our youth even until now, both we, and also our fathers: that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen; for every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians."—*Gen.* xli. 34.

"And Moses said, It is not meet so to do; for we shall sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians to the Lord our God: lo, shall we sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes, and will not they stone us?"—*Exod.* viii. 26.

<sup>7</sup> "And, behold, there came up out of the river seven well-favoured kine and fat-fleshed; and they fed in a meadow."—*Gen.* xli. 2.

burdens on the head<sup>1</sup>, ride in chariots<sup>2</sup>, construct boats of papyrus<sup>3</sup>, and embalm their dead<sup>4</sup>; the officers of state shave their beards<sup>5</sup>, and wear clothes made of byssus<sup>6</sup>; finally, all communication with the Hebrews is maintained by means of interpreters<sup>7</sup>; and the Pentateuch, moreover, contains several old Egyptian words, which may still be explained from the Coptic<sup>8</sup>. So far all is correct, and we have before us precisely the same picture of a civilized state, with sacerdotal institutions, which the oldest Greek historians, and especially Herodotus, have drawn, either from personal observation or the best information within their reach. This coincidence finds an easy explanation in the very simple fact, that there was, as will appear in the sequel, no very important difference in the date of their origin<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> "When the chief baker saw that the interpretation was good, he said unto Joseph, I also was in my dream, and, behold, I had three white baskets on my head."—*Gen.* xl. 16.

<sup>2</sup> "And he made him to ride in the second chariot which he had."—*Gen.* xli. 43.

"And he took six hundred chosen chariots, and all the chariots of Egypt, and captains over every one of them."—*Exod.* xiv. 7.

<sup>3</sup> "And when she could no longer hide him, she took for him an ark of bulrushes, and daubed it with slime and with pitch, and put the child therein; and she laid it in the flags by the river's brink."—*Exod.* ii. 3.

<sup>4</sup> "And Joseph commanded his servants the physicians to embalm his father: and the physicians embalmed Israel."—*Gen.* l. 2.

<sup>5</sup> "Then Pharaoh sent and called Joseph, and they brought him hastily out of the dungeon: and he shaved himself, and changed his raiment, and came in unto Pharaoh."—*Gen.* xli. 14.

<sup>6</sup> "And Pharaoh took off his ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck."—*Gen.* xli. 42.

<sup>7</sup> "And they knew not that Joseph understood them; for he spake unto them by an interpreter."—*Gen.* xlii. 43.

<sup>8</sup> *Gen.* xxxix. 1; xli. 1.

<sup>9</sup> *Leo*, p. 167.

It has nevertheless been the common practice with historians to infer the high antiquity of Egyptian civilization from these descriptions in the Pentateuch, and then to express their surprise that the same civilization should reappear in the classics after the lapse of a thousand years, during which long interval it must, as a necessary consequence, have remained completely stationary: hence they have been wont to deduce the profound wisdom of the ancient Egyptians in order to account for the learning they attributed to Moses<sup>1</sup>; and finally, to make the whole circle complete, to rest upon this the common theory which ascribes to him the entire composition of the Pentateuch.

We might even go so far as to assert, that a blind attachment to certain opinions has checked and obscured the whole course of modern criticism in relation to the history of Egypt, as in the opposite case the same secret motive has been constantly at work, to weaken and throw suspicion on the evidence we possess for the early culture of other ancient nations, to whom, were that evidence admitted, the Hebrews must be supposed to have been indebted.

Our present inquiry has, however, less reference to the knowledge of Egypt which the Pentateuch is thus found to display, than to the blunders and inaccuracies, with reference to this country, of which it has been guilty. These latter, we shall find, not only compel us to assign a later date to its origin, but also to infer that its author was an absolute stranger to Egypt, and must have been indebted for his information to hearsay instead of observation. He

<sup>1</sup> See Comm. on Gen. xli. 39. "And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Forasmuch as God hath showed thee all this, there is none so discreet and wise as thou art."—*Gen.* xli. 39.

gives us, in the first place, strong grounds for suspecting that he has transferred to the valley of the Nile much that was really peculiar to the people of Upper Asia, for no other reason than because it was opposed to the customs and experience of the Jews; it was, we know, the custom of the Egyptians to build, in general, with stone, and the enormous structures of brick which are mentioned in Exodus<sup>1</sup> would rather appear to have been borrowed from the practice of Babylon; we find, too (a confusion still more remarkable), that many Aramæan words are cited at random as Egyptian<sup>2</sup>. The author, moreover, implies the employment of asses and camels in Egypt<sup>3</sup>; represents Joseph as slaying animals to supply his entertainments,—in glaring opposition with the sacred character they are known to have enjoyed<sup>4</sup>—admits the existence of a rude and arbitrary tyranny utterly at variance with the culture he attributes to the prince<sup>5</sup>; brings the produce of Arabia in Ishmaelite caravans from Palestine to Egypt, because they followed this route at a later period<sup>6</sup>; is familiar with

<sup>1</sup> "They built for Pharaoh treasure-cities, Pithom and Raamses."—*Exod.* i. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Gen.* xxxix. 1; xli. 1, 43, 45; xlii. 6. *Comp.* Hirzel de Chald. p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> "And he entreated Abram well for her sake; and he had sheep, and oxen, and he-asses, and men-servants, and maid-servants, and she-asses and camels."—*Gen.* xii. 16.

<sup>4</sup> "And when Joseph saw Benjamin with them, he said to the ruler of his house, Bring these men home, and slay, and make ready; for these men shall dine with me at noon."—*Gen.* xliii. 16.

<sup>5</sup> "Therefore it shall come to pass, when the Egyptians shall see thee, that they shall say, This is his wife: and they will kill me, but they will save thee alive."—*Gen.* xii. 12.

<sup>6</sup> "And they sat down to eat bread: and they lifted up their eyes and looked, and, behold, a company of Ishmaelites came from Gilead with their camels bearing spicery and balm and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt."—*Gen.* xxxvii. 25.



the culture of the vine, which was not adopted in Egypt till the reign of Psammetichus<sup>1</sup>; and is so grossly ignorant of the climate of the country, that he transfers to it without a scruple the parching east wind of Palestine<sup>2</sup>, and subsequently employs its agency to bring about the ebbing of the Red Sea<sup>3</sup>. Here, too, a prominent place must be assigned to that well-known series of miracles which marked the deliverance of the chosen people from the hands of the Egyptians<sup>4</sup>. All of them, it appears, are the regular natural phænomena, or periodical visitations of the country; and the whole of the miracle consists in their exaggerated extent, or appearance at unusual periods, in answer to the prayers of Moses. The water of the Nile annually assumes a reddish tint for a period of twenty days, when the river is rising or subsiding; and in 1823, Ehrenberg found the whole inlet of the Red Sea, in the neighbourhood of Sinai, stained a blood-red colour by a number of Cryptogamic plants<sup>5</sup>. The marshy valley of the Nile is so prolific in frogs, that they occasionally become a "plague<sup>6</sup>;" and it was for this reason that their natural enemy, the Ibis, was held sacred as a public benefactor. The same is true of the marsh-gnats<sup>7</sup>, a very troublesome kind of mosquito<sup>8</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> "And the chief butler told his dream to Joseph, and said to him, In my dream, behold a vine was before me."—*Gen.* xl. 9.

<sup>2</sup> "And, behold, seven thin ears and blasted with the east wind sprung up after them."—*Gen.* xli. 6.

<sup>3</sup> "And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea; and the Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night, and made the sea dry land, and the waters were divided."—*Exod.* xiv. 21.

<sup>4</sup> [The plagues.] *Exod.* vii. and following chapters.

<sup>5</sup> See Pocock, *Description of the East*, i. 296, 312. Ehrenberg, *Observations*, &c. in Poggendorff's *Annale*, 1830.

<sup>6</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 29. Justin, xv. 2. <sup>7</sup> *Ex.* viii. 16, *kinnom*.

<sup>8</sup> Mosquitoes, incorrectly translated "lice" by Luther, after the example of the Rabbins. "And the Lord said unto Moses, Say unto

and also of the locusts, which are frequently carried over in swarms from Arabia, and commit dreadful havoc in the country<sup>1</sup>. It appears very probable that the description of this plague is imitated from that in Joel<sup>2</sup>. Showers of hail are of rare occurrence in Egypt, as the observation of the narrator would seem indeed to imply<sup>3</sup>, and appear to have been borrowed from Palestine. The "plague" itself (of which Egypt may almost be considered as the parent soil) is to this day fearfully frequent, as is also the black eruption (*shëchin*)<sup>4</sup>, which, in common with other diseases, is produced by the prevalence of marshes. While the myth is thus pouring forth its bitterest wrath on the Egyptians, it betrays an utter ignorance of the time when these phenomena appear; for, as the Israelites went out of Egypt in the month of Abib, exactly at the period of the Passover<sup>5</sup>,

Aaron, Stretch out thy rod, and smite the dust of the land, that it may become lice throughout all the land of Egypt."—*Exod.* viii. 16.

<sup>1</sup> "And the locusts went up over all the land of Egypt, and rested in all the coasts of Egypt: very grievous were they; before them there were no such locusts as they, neither after them shall be such."—*Exod.* x. 14. [See also verse 15.]

<sup>2</sup> "A day of darkness and of gloominess, a day of clouds and of thick darkness, as the morning spread upon the mountains: a great people and a strong; there hath not been ever the like, neither shall be any more after it, even to the years of many generations."—*Joel* ii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> "Behold, tomorrow about this time I will cause it to rain a very grievous hail, such as hath not been in Egypt since the foundation thereof until now."—*Exod.* ix. 18.

<sup>4</sup> "And it shall become small dust in all the land of Egypt, and shall be a boil breaking forth with blains upon man, and upon beast, throughout all the land of Egypt."—*Exod.* ix. 9.

<sup>5</sup> "And Moses said unto the people, Remember this day, in which ye came out from Egypt, out of the house of bondage; for by strength of hand the Lord brought you out from this place; there shall no leavened bread be eaten."—*Exod.* xiii. 3. [The Jewish Passover occurred in the spring of the year, about March or April.]

the description of the greater number of these plagues (which do not commence till the very height of summer), could only have been drawn from a most imperfect knowledge of the country. In the other wonders performed, the Egyptian priests, according to the representation of the narrator, were not less successful than Moses; they imitate, among the rest, the exhibition of tame serpents<sup>1</sup>; and we know that down even to the present day, many a magic art is practised in the East, which may serve perhaps to throw an occasional light on some curious appearances of antiquity.

But to us, these portions of the narrative, though evidently put forward as miraculous, can only appear in the light of purely poetical conceptions adapted to the spirit of the time, which we must certainly explain, according to our present experience, but should not criticise according to our present opinions.

It was the general belief of the ancients, that great men, particularly lawgivers and founders of new religions, were bound to establish their claims by performing extraordinary deeds; and this opinion is so deeply rooted in the spirit of the East, that even Mahomet was obliged, against his will, to appeal to some signs, in order to satisfy the doubts of the people of Mecca. In the case before us, the national temperament of the Israelites is very clearly expressed, under the peculiar form which it must have received from the political circumstances in which that people were placed about the time of Josiah<sup>2</sup>; and their hatred finds at last full vent in the death of the first-born of the

<sup>1</sup> "For they cast down every man his rod, and they became serpents: but Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods."—*Exod.* vii. 12.

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, Chap. 21.

Egyptians, and the destruction of the hostile army in the waters of the Red Sea.

Every single incident is an act of the divine vengeance which Jehovah inflicts on their enemies, in answer to the prayers or imprecations of his chosen people ; and it is only by a reference to this feeling, which runs through the whole of the Old Testament, that it is possible rightly to estimate the plundering of the Egyptians, (so often misunderstood,) which was expressly enjoined, as it is said, by Jehovah himself<sup>1</sup>.

In conclusion, we derive from the examination of these various narratives this certain result, that they are not contemporaneous history, but the pure legends of a later date. A king so silly as the Egyptian Pharaoh of the book of Exodus<sup>2</sup> is nowhere to be found, except in popular fables ; and Moses, to use the gentlest expression the case will admit, would have certainly exposed himself to the suspicion of self-deception among contemporaries so familiar with Egypt, if he had endeavoured to pass off as miracles the ordinary phenomena of nature, which could, besides, have exercised no influence on Goshen.

<sup>1</sup> " And I will give this people favour in the sight of the Egyptians : and it shall come to pass, that, when ye go, ye shall not go empty : but every woman shall borrow of her neighbour, and of her that sojourneth in her house, jewels of silver and jewels of gold, and raiment ; and ye shall put them upon your sons, and upon your daughters ; and ye shall spoil the Egyptians."—*Exod.* iii. 21, 22.

" And the Lord gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians, so that they lent unto them such things as they required. And they spoiled the Egyptians."—*Exod.* xii. 36.

<sup>2</sup> " And the Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh, and he hearkened not unto them ; as the Lord had spoken unto Moses."—*Exod.* ix. 12. See also the rest of the chapter.

## CHAPTER VII.

### GEOGRAPHICAL ALLUSIONS TO PALESTINE CONTAINED IN THE PENTATEUCH.

IT has been said, "that the hand of an eye-witness and contemporary may be clearly traced in the enumeration of the tribes, the formal record of their encampments, and the numerous proper names, which, as well as the circumstances connected with them, are detailed with extraordinary minuteness and accuracy;" that "it is quite absurd to suppose, that such a tradition could have been preserved for centuries, while our own experience shows that even the most recent events soon fade from the general recollection." Were we, in the first place, to accede to the negative side of this argument, which denies that the memory of any historical fact can possibly be preserved for centuries, it would at once annihilate, or at least render doubtful, the whole early portion of the Hebrew history; a result, we imagine, which can scarcely be contemplated by those who so confidently appeal to the fact of the seven years' war having been, as they say, so soon and so completely forgotten. They totally neglect to consider how much the influence of oral tradition has been weakened, in our day, by the introduction of writing. Nevertheless, this very example may supply a just criterion for estimating the practice of antiquity in this and other similar

cases. In the migration of the Israelites from Chaldæa, and their subsequent departure from Egypt, the actual fact is by no means entirely forgotten; this is transmitted in the first instance in songs and legends, it receives in the progress of time a more arbitrary form, is adapted, with apparent simplicity and an accurate observance of localities, to the circumstances of the actual time, is adorned with poetical additions, and becomes at last so completely transfused into the popular tradition of the country, that the original groundwork of fact can scarcely be discovered beneath it. Popular poetry individualizes its favourite heroes, and draws them from the life; nay, some of its narratives are so minute and so graphic, (the history of Joseph, for instance,) that they have even been ascribed (like it) to the principal actor himself.

If, however, the exact specification of numbers, the accurate descriptions of localities, or, in general, the precise and the graphic were always to be considered as the certain criterions of history, we should be compelled to yield our most undoubting belief to the catalogue of ships and the descent to the infernal regions in Homer, to the encounters of the heroes in Ossian, to Dante's description of hell, to the incarnations of Vishnu, and the fictions of a similar character which abound in the early history of every nation. This leads us to the positive side of the argument; and we proceed accordingly, in the first place, to review those references to the geography of Palestine which occur in the Pentateuch, and which we shall see are either such as can only have originated at a much later period, or as entirely belong to the province of popular poetry.

The book of Genesis gives no details of the journeys of

its heroes; they arrive forthwith at the place of their destination<sup>1</sup>; in many cases, nevertheless, this book is clearly mistaken in localities<sup>2</sup>, and constantly betrays that it must have been written in Palestine itself. This land comprises, according to our author, all the countries between the Nile and the Euphrates<sup>3</sup>, an extent far exceeding that elsewhere assigned in the common description, from Dan to Beersheba<sup>4</sup>. In another passage, the river Arnon is represented as the boundary of the Moabites<sup>5</sup>, as was actually the case after the conquests of David, although it had never been

<sup>1</sup> "And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and saddled his ass, and took two of his young men with him, and Isaac his son, and clave the wood for the burnt offering, and rose up, and went unto the place of which God had told him. Then on the third day Abraham lifted up his eyes, and saw the place afar off."—*Gen.* xxii. 3, 4.

Comp. *Gen.* xxiv. [containing an account of the journey of Abraham's servant to fetch Rebekah.]

"Then Jacob went on his journey, and came into the land of the people of the east."—*Gen.* xxix. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Compare notes on *Gen.* xxix. 1, xxx. 14, xxxvii. 18, l. 10.

<sup>3</sup> "In the same day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying, Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates."—*Gen.* xv. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Beersheba is also mentioned as a frontier-town in *Gen.* xlvj. 1 :—"And Israel took his journey with all that he had, and came to Beersheba, and offered sacrifices unto the God of his father Isaac."

Compare 2 *Sam.* xvii. 11 :—"Therefore I counsel that all Israel be generally gathered unto thee, from Dan even to Beersheba, as the sand that is by the sea for multitude; and that thou go to battle in thine own person."

<sup>5</sup> "From thence they removed, and pitched on the other side of Arnon, which is in the wilderness that cometh out of the coasts of the Amorites: for Arnon is the border of Moab; between Moab and the Amorites."—*Num.* xxi. 13.

Compare the more precise description in *Num.* xxxiv. 3, &c. :—"Then your south quarter shall be from the wilderness of Zin along by the coast of Edom, and your south border shall be the outmost coast of the salt sea eastward."

so at any previous period. It is useless to suggest that the same boundaries might have been adopted by the earlier Canaanites; for on the north and south they are not marked out by any natural features, and David was the first who encroached to much extent on the neighbouring territory. We know, moreover, that Moses never crossed the Jordan<sup>1</sup>; yet Deuteronomy represents him as giving the law on *the other side* the river<sup>2</sup>; an inadvertence which clearly betrays that Deuteronomy was itself written [*in Palestine*] on *this side*; and it is only in a few rare cases that it attempts to keep up the deception<sup>3</sup>. On one occasion, the author of the book of Numbers has also so far forgotten himself as to state that "the Israelites encamped in the plains of

<sup>1</sup> "But I must die in this land, I must not go over Jordan: but ye shall go over and possess that good land."—*Deut.* iv. 22.

<sup>2</sup> "These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel on *the other side* Jordan in the wilderness, in the plain over against the Red Sea, between Paran, and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Dizahab."—*Deut.* i. 1.

"And we took at that time out of the hand of the two kings of the Amorites the land that was on *the other side* Jordan, from the river of Arnon unto Mount Hermon."—*Deut.* iii. 8.

"Then Moses severed three cities on *the other side* Jordan toward the sun-rising."—*Deut.* iv. 41.

"On *the other side* Jordan, in the valley over against Beth-peor, in the land of Sihon king of the Amorites, who dwelt at Heshbon; whom Moses and the children of Israel smote, after they were come forth out of Egypt:

"And they possessed his land, and the land of Og king of Bashan, two kings of the Amorites, which were on *the other side* Jordan toward the sun-rising."—*Deut.* iv. 46, 47, and many other passages.

[In all these verses the received text substitutes 'on *this side*']

<sup>3</sup> "Are they not on *the other side* Jordan, by the way where the sun goeth down, in the land of the Canaanites, which dwell in the champaign over against Gilgal, beside the plains of Moreh?"—*Deut.* xi. 30. [The same preposition—in *this instance* it is correctly rendered in the received English version.]



the Moabites, on *the other side* of the Jordan opposite to Jericho<sup>1</sup>," though the country of the Moabites, as we know from Joshua<sup>2</sup>, lay entirely on the east of the Jordan. This was observed as far back as the time of Peyrerius<sup>3</sup>. In later times, critics have attempted to dispose of these passages by rendering *bē'eber*, *on this side*<sup>4</sup>, a meaning which it never bears, and which no single passage<sup>5</sup> can be brought to support.

<sup>1</sup> Numb. xxii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> "These are the countries which Moses did distribute for inheritance in the plains of Moab, on the other side Jordan, by Jericho, eastward."—Joshua xiii. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Syst. Præadamitarum, p. 185.

<sup>4</sup> Movers Crit. Inquiries, p. 241.

<sup>5</sup> The phrase, "the other side the Jordan westward," *bē'eber ha-jarden jammah*, stands for the whole of Palestine, according to its breadth; hence is added, by way of explanation, in Jos. xii. 1, "from the river Arnon to Mount Hermon, and all the plain on the east."

Compare also the following passages:—

"Until the Lord have given your brethren rest, as he hath given you, and they also have possessed the land which the Lord your God giveth them: then ye shall return unto the land of your possession, and enjoy it, which Moses the Lord's servant gave you on this side (*bē'eber*) Jordan toward the sunrising."—Jos. i. 15.

"And it came to pass, when all the kings of the Amorites, which were on the side of (*bē'eber*) Jordan westward, and all the kings of the Canaanites, which were by the sea, heard that the Lord had dried up the waters of Jordan from before the children of Israel, until we were passed over, that their heart melted, neither was there spirit in them any more, because of the children of Israel."—Jos. v. 1.

"And it came to pass, when all the kings which were on this side (*bē'eber*) Jordan, in the hills, and in the valleys, and in all the coasts of the great sea over against Lebanon, the Hittite, and the Amorite, the Canaanite, the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite, heard thereof."—Jos. ix. 1.

"Now these are the kings of the land, which the children of Israel smote, and possessed their land on the other side (*bē'eber*) Jordan toward the rising of the sun, from the river Arnon unto mount Hermon, and all the plain on the east."—Jos. xii. 1.

"And these are the kings of the country which Joshua and the chil-

dren of Israel smote on this side (bē'ēber) Jordan on the west, from Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon even unto the mount Halak, that goeth up to Seir; which Joshua gave unto the tribes of Israel for a possession according to their divisions."—*Jos. xii. 7.*

"And when the men of Israel that were on the other side of the valley, and they that were on the other side (bē'ēber) Jordan, saw that the men of Israel fled, and that Saul and his sons were dead, they forsook the cities, and fled; and the Philistines came and dwelt in them."—*1 Sam. xxxi. 7.*

Thus, the five exceptions (*Ges. Lex. Man.*) which certainly refer to the land west of the Jordan are only apparent; *mē'ēber*, on the contrary, may signify either on this, or the other side, or from the other side of the Jordan hither (as *Jos. xxii. 7*).

Compare also note on *Gen. i. 10.* Atad, which is beyond (or on the other side of) the Jordan.

[In his larger lexicon (*Thesaurus Ling. Heb.*), published since the German edition of this work, Gesenius assigns the following meanings to *'ēber*, which give a somewhat different view of the word from that of Von Bohlen:—

**עבר**. (1.) *Ultior region, situated beyond a river or sea.* It is most commonly employed in connection with the Jordan, in which case it is frequently used (and where no ambiguity could arise without other adjunct) for the country beyond the Jordan (bē'ēber, *Gen. i. 10, 11. Deut. i. 1, 5; iii. 8, 20; iv. 46. Jos. i. 14; ii. 10; vii. 7; ix. 10; xxii. 4, &c.: mē'ēber, Num. xxxv. 14. Jos. xiv. 3; xvii. 5.*). In other cases, lest any doubt should arise, *eastwards* was added, as in *Deut. iv. 41, 47, 49. Jos. i. 15; xii. 1; xiii. 8; xiii. 32; xviii. 7; xx. 8.* For *ēber hajardan* could also be used for Palestine on this side the Jordan, and that too (when no ambiguity could arise) without any adjunct, as in *Deut. iii. 25; 1 Sam. xxxi. 7.* But the point of the heavens was generally added (bē'ēber hajardan jamah, *Jos. v. 1; xii. 7; xxii. 7. (comp. ix. 1.), &c.*). The two regions are thus opposed to each other (*Num. xxxii. 19.*):—"We will not inherit with them on the other side (mē'ēber) the Jordan and beyond," i. e. in the country beyond the Jordan (but we must understand the country on this side the Jordan, as the tribes of Gad and Reuben are speaking), "but our inheritance has fallen to us beyond (mē'ēber) the Jordan eastward," i. e. on the east side of the Jordan. From which it is manifest that *'ēber* [*mē'ēber*?] could be used by one and the same writer for the regions both on this and the further side the river.

(2.) *Opposite region, opposite side*, whether a valley or any other space intervened, &c.]

A similar oversight, both as to time and place, occurs in the passage of Exodus<sup>1</sup>, where it is said, *before* the forty years' wandering in the wilderness, "that the children of Israel did eat manna forty years;" and also in the expression so frequently employed, and even on Mount Sinai itself, "Jehovah spoke on Sinai with Moses;" so that it may perhaps admit of a doubt whether it betrays more "pettiness of criticism" to lay stress on such arguments as these, or to adopt the apology of Jahn, "that the style of public records necessarily requires such precision." Cities of Palestine, moreover, are mentioned in the narrative under names which they do not receive till a later period, or with which Moses at least could by no possibility have been acquainted. Thus Hebron, for instance, was previously called Arba<sup>2</sup>; Dan was previously called Laish, and only acquired its new name after it came into the possession of the tribe of Dan, long after the time of Moses<sup>3</sup>. Rosen-

<sup>1</sup> "And the children of Israel did eat manna forty years, until they came to a land inhabited; they did eat manna, until they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan."—*Exod.* xvi. 35.

<sup>2</sup> "Then Abram removed his tent, and came and dwelt in the plain of Mamre, which is in Hebron."—*Gen.* xiii. 18.

"And the name of Hebron before was Kirjath-Arba; which Arba was a great man among the Anakims."—*Joshua* xiv. 15.

<sup>3</sup> "And when Abram heard that his brother was taken captive, he armed his trained servants, born in his own house, three hundred and eighteen, and pursued them unto Dan."—*Gen.* xiv. 14.

"And the coast of the children of Dan went out too little for them: therefore the children of Dan went up to fight against Leshem, and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and possessed it, and dwelt therein, and called Leshem, Dan, after the name of Dan their father."—*Joshua* xix. 47.

"And they called the name of the city Dan, after the name of Dan their father, who was born unto Israel: howbeit the name of the city was Laish at the first."—*Judges* xviii. 29.

müller is compelled to omit the whole of the obnoxious verse<sup>1</sup> Judges xviii. 29; while Jahn and Eichhorn, in complete opposition to history, assume two cities of this name, because Moses is said, from the summit of Mount Nebo, to have surveyed the whole land unto Dan<sup>2</sup>, an expression which is merely intended to convey the utmost extent of the country towards the north; and quite apart too from this, it must be sufficiently evident, that any city of this name we may choose in our pleasure to assume, could only have received it in after times and from some connexion with the tribe. In the same way cities are mentioned which we find were only built by the tribes of Gad and Reuben<sup>3</sup>, while down to the present time every attempt to reconcile the varying accounts of the well-known villages of Jair has proved completely abortive<sup>4</sup>. The local legends of Genesis, which we shall notice at length as they occur, can as little disguise their later origin as those frequent explanations of ancient names, which are

<sup>1</sup> Biblical Antiq., (Bibl. Alterthums Kunde), ii. 2. p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> "And Moses went up from the plains of Moab unto the mountain of Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho. And the Lord showed him all the land of Gilead unto Dan."—*Deut.* xxxiv. 1.

<sup>3</sup> "And the children of Gad built Dibon, and Ataroth, and Aroer, and Atroth, Shophan, and Jaazer, and Jogbehah, and Beth-nimrah, and Beth-haran, fenced cities: and folds for sheep.

"And the children of Reuben built Heshbon, and Elealeh, and Kirjathaim, and Nebo, and Baal-meon (their names being changed), and Shibmah; and gave other names unto the cities which they builded."—*Num.* xxxii. 34—38.

<sup>4</sup> "Jair the son of Manasseh took all the country of Argob unto the coasts of Geshuri and Maachathi; and called them after his own name, Bashan-havoth-Jair, unto this day."—*Deut.* iii. 14.

"And after him arose Jair, a Gileadite, and judged Israel twenty and two years."—*Judges* x. 3.

Peyrerius, Syst. Præadam. p. 206. Winer's Dictionary (Realwörterb.) under the name Jair.

never introduced till after the original meaning has already become obscure to the people<sup>1</sup>.

The expulsion of the Canaanites from Palestine is mentioned in the Pentateuch as an event of a very distant date<sup>2</sup>, and even Aben Esra has remarked that Moses could never have said, "The Canaanites were *yet* in the land," as they had dwelt there from time immemorial, and remained undisturbed during the whole lifetime of Moses. It was only by slow degrees that these native tribes were conquered or driven beyond the borders, and our opponents must either reject all such passages as these (an easy style of criticism), or have recourse to forced interpretations, and disregard the very structure of the language. Such is the glaring violation of all the laws of grammar, which Eichhorn ventures to suggest on Deut. ii. 12, where it is

<sup>1</sup> "Bela, which is Zoar. Enmish-pat, which is Kadesh. Bela (the same is Zoar). The valley of Shavéh, which is the king's dale."—*Gen.* xiv. 2, 7, 8, 17.

"And Sarah died in Kirjath-arba; the same is Hebron in the land of Canaan."—*Gen.* xxiii. 2.

"And Rachel died, and was buried in the way to Ephrath, which is Beth-lehem."—*Gen.* xxxv. 19.

"Now an omer is the tenth part of an ephah."—*Exod.* xvi. 36.

"Thou shalt even take five shekels apiece by the poll, after the shekel of the sanctuary shalt thou take them: (the shekel is twenty gerahs)." —*Num.* iii. 47.

"And those that are to be redeemed from a month old shalt thou redeem, according to thine estimation, for the money of five shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary, which is twenty gerahs."—*Num.* xviii. 16.

"Which Hermon the Sidonians call Sirion; and the Amorites call it Shenir."—*Deut.* iii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> "And Abram passed through the land unto the place of Sichem, unto the plain of Moreh. And the Canaanite was then in the land." —*Gen.* xii. 6.

"And there was a strife between the herdmen of Abram's cattle and the herdmen of Lot's cattle: and the Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelled then in the land."—*Gen.* xiii. 7, and other places.

said, "The Horims also dwelt in Seir beforetime; and the children of Esau drove them out and destroyed them from before them; as Israel did (*ka'asher 'asah*) unto the land of his inheritance, which Jehovah gave unto them" (*nathan*): these Hebrew words are to be rendered, according to Eichhorn, "as Israel *shall* do,"—"which Jehovah *will* give them."

The Jewish laws themselves have a special reference to Palestine, and must have been framed subsequent to the settlement in the country to which they are so expressly adapted. Directions are given for the sowing of the seed, for the culture of the olive and vine<sup>1</sup>, and of these (the latter at least) no knowledge could have been previously acquired in Egypt nor yet in Arabia. The Israelites are forbidden to remove the landmarks which their forefathers had determined (*'asher gabēlu ri'shonim*)<sup>2</sup>: in this case also Jahn has adopt-

<sup>1</sup> "If a man shall cause a field or vineyard to be eaten, and shall put in his beast, and shall feed in another man's field; of the best of his own field, and of the best of his own vineyard, shall he make restitution. If fire break out, and catch in thorns, so that the stacks of corn, or the standing corn, or the field, be consumed therewith; he that kindled the fire shall surely make restitution."—*Exod.* xxii. 5, 6.

"But the seventh year thou shalt let it rest and lie still; that the poor of thy people may eat: and what they leave the beasts of the field shall eat. In like manner thou shalt deal with thy vineyard, and with thy oliveyard."—*Exod.* xxiii. 11.

"And when ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy field, neither shalt thou gather the gleanings of thy harvest. And thou shalt not glean thy vineyard, neither shalt thou gather every grape of thy vineyard; thou shalt leave them for the poor and stranger: I am the Lord your God."—*Lev.* xix. 9, 10.

"Thou shalt not sow thy vineyard with divers seeds: lest the fruit of thy seed which thou hast sown, and the fruit of thy vineyard, be defiled."—*Deut.* xxii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which they of old time have set in thine inheritance, which thou shalt inherit in the land that the Lord thy God giveth thee to possess it."—*Deut.* xix. 14.

ed a most arbitrary interpretation, "which your forefathers *shall* have determined." No tents are mentioned, but cities are everywhere assumed to exist; the housetops were to be furnished with parapets<sup>1</sup>, and the feast of tabernacles was appointed at a time when commodious dwellings were clearly already in use<sup>2</sup>. In this point of view, the frequent mention of strangers, under the standing form of "the stranger in thy gates<sup>3</sup>," is of no inconsiderable importance. It evidently alludes to a state of things which could only have existed in Palestine; and we know, from actual hi-

<sup>1</sup> "When thou buildest a new house, then thou shalt make a battlement for thy roof, that thou bring not blood upon thine house, if any man fall from thence."—*Deut.* xxii. 8.

<sup>2</sup> "And the feast of harvest, the firstfruits of thy labours, which thou hast sown in thy field: and the feast of ingathering, which is in the end of the year, when thou hast gathered in thy labours out of the field."—*Exod.* xxiii. 16.

"Also in the fifteenth day of the seventh month, when ye have gathered in the fruit of the land, ye shall keep a feast unto the Lord seven days: on the first day shall be a sabbath, and on the eighth day shall be a sabbath."—*Lev.* xxiii. 39.

Hüllman, *Constitution of the Israelites* (Staatsv. der Isr.), p. 128.

<sup>3</sup> "But the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates."—*Exod.* xx. 10.

"And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex him."—*Lev.* xix. 33.

"But the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thine ox, nor thine ass, nor any of thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates; that thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou."—*Deut.* v. 14.

"And thou shalt rejoice before the Lord thy God, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy manservant, and thy maidservant, and the Levite that is within thy gates, and the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, that are among you, in the place which the Lord thy God hath chosen to place his name there."—*Deut.* xvi. 11.

story, that the earlier inhabitants dwelt in general at peace among the Hebrews, and that Jerusalem in particular was literally crowded with them. Foreigners filled public offices<sup>1</sup>; many Phœnicians settled in the city for the sake of trade, and were even admitted into the temple<sup>2</sup>. Even the later chronicles are so far from disguising this fact, that they expressly mention the existence of no less than 153,600 strangers in Palestine at the time of Solomon<sup>3</sup>; it was only so late as Nehemiah<sup>4</sup> the Israelites first *discovered* that all

<sup>1</sup> "Now a certain man of the servants of Saul was there that day, detained before the Lord; and his name was Doeg, an Edomite, the chiefest of the herdmen that belonged to Saul."—1 *Sam.* xxi. 7.

"Then answered Doeg the Edomite, which was set over the servants of Saul, and said, I saw the son of Jesse coming to Nob, to Ahimelech the son of Ahitub."—1 *Sam.* xxii. 9.

"And the king said to Doeg, Turn thou, and fall upon the priests. And Doeg the Edomite turned, and he fell upon the priests, and slew on that day fourscore and five persons that did wear a linen ephod."—1 *Sam.* xxii. 18.

"And David said unto Abiathar, I knew it that day, when Doeg the Edomite was there, that he would surely tell Saul: I have occasioned the death of all the persons of thy father's house."—1 *Sam.* xxii. 22.

"And David sent and enquired after the woman. And one said, Is not this Bath-sheba, the daughter of Eliam, the wife of Uriah the Hittite?"—2 *Sam.* xi. 3.

"And David sent to Joab, saying, Send me Uriah the Hittite. And Joab sent Uriah to David."—2 *Sam.* xi. 6.

"Zelek the Ammonite, Nahari the Beerothite, armourbearer to Joab the son of Zeruiah,.....Uriah the Hittite."—2 *Sam.* xxiii. 37, 39.

Compare Hüllman, *Isr. Constit.* p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> "Yea, every pot in Jerusalem and in Judah shall be holiness unto the Lord of hosts: and all they that sacrifice shall come and take of them, and seethe therein: and in that day there shall be no more the Canaanite in the house of the Lord of hosts."—*Zechariah* xiv. 21.

<sup>3</sup> "And Solomon numbered all the strangers that were in the land of Israel, after the numbering wherewith David his father had numbered them; and they were found an hundred and fifty thousand and three thousand and six hundred."—2 *Chron.* ii. 17.

<sup>4</sup> "In those days also saw I Jews that had married wives of Ashdod,



intercourse with strangers was strictly *forbidden in the law*, and, in consequence, renounced it entirely; a fact which affords a strong argument for referring the promulgation of the laws in the Pentateuch to a period subsequent to the captivity. This supposition will be found to be equally necessary to enable us to comprehend the injunctions against mixed marriages which occur in the Pentateuch<sup>1</sup>. At every period of their earlier history the Israelites had intermarried with "strange" and Canaanitish women<sup>2</sup>; it

of Ammon, and of Moab: and their children spake half in the speech of Ashdod, and could not speak in the Jews' language, but according to the language of each people. And I contended with them, and cursed them, and smote certain of them, and plucked off their hair, and made them swear by God, saying, Ye shall not give your daughters unto their sons, nor take their daughters unto your sons, or for yourselves. Did not Solomon king of Israel sin by these things? yet among many nations was there no king like him, who was beloved of his God, and God made him king over all Israel: nevertheless even him did outlandish women cause to sin. Shall we then hearken unto you to do all this great evil, to transgress against our God in marrying strange wives? And one of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib the high priest, was son-in-law to Sanballat the Horonite: therefore I chased him from me. Remember them, O my God, because they have defiled the priesthood, and the covenant of the priesthood, and of the Levites. Thus cleansed I them from all strangers, and appointed the wards of the priests and the Levites, every one in his business."—*Nehemiah* xiii. 23–30.

<sup>1</sup> "And thou take of their daughters unto thy sons, and their daughters go a whoring after their gods, and make thy sons go a whoring after their gods."—*Exod.* xxxiv. 16.

"Neither shalt thou make marriages with them; thy daughter thou shalt not give unto his son, nor his daughter shalt thou take unto thy son."—*Deut.* vii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> "And they took their daughters to be their wives, and gave their daughters to their sons, and served their gods."—*Judges* iii. 6.

"And he came up, and told his father and his mother, and said, I have seen a woman in Timnath of the daughters of the Philistines: now therefore get her for me to wife."—*Judges* xiv. 2.

"And his second, Chileab, of Abigail the wife of Nabal the Carme-

was only at a later date that the priests took offence at the practice, sought to check the abuses to which it had given rise, and transferred their own feelings to the Patriarchs, in order to present more edifying examples to the people<sup>1</sup>. We might nevertheless be tempted to inquire what kind of a race could have sprung from the 32,000 Midianitish virgins who are mentioned in Numbers<sup>2</sup> if the fiction in this case were not somewhat too apparent.

lite ; and the third, Absalom, the son of Maacah the daughter of Talmai king of Geshur."—2 *Sam.* iii. 3.

"But king Solomon loved many strange women, together with the daughter of Pharaoh, women of the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Zidonians, and Hittites."—1 *Kings* xi. 1.

"And it came to pass, as if it had been a light thing for him [Ahab] to walk in the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, that he took to wife Jezebel the daughter of Ethbaal king of the Zidonians, and went and served Baal, and worshipped him."—1 *Kings* xvi. 31.

<sup>1</sup> See Gen. xxiv. [containing the account of the journey of Abraham's servant in search of a wife for Isaac. She was not to be of the daughters of the Canaanites, but of the kindred of Abraham in Mesopotamia.]

"And Isaac called Jacob, and blessed him, and charged him, and said unto him, Thou shalt not take a wife of the daughters of Canaan."—Gen. xxviii. 1.

"Now when these things were done, the princes came to me, saying, The people of Israel, and the priests, and the Levites, have not separated themselves from the people of the lands, doing according to their abominations, even of the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Jebusites, the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Egyptians, and the Amorites. For they have taken of their daughters for themselves, and for their sons : so that the holy seed have mingled themselves with the people of those lands : yea, the hand of the princes and rulers hath been chief in this trespass."—*Ezra* ix. 1, 2.

<sup>2</sup> "But all the women children, that have not known a man by lying with him, keep alive for yourselves....."

"And thirty and two thousand persons in all, of women that had not known man by lying with him."—*Num.* xxxi. 18, 35.

## CHAPTER VIII.

THE NUMBER FORTY, AND THE WANDERINGS IN THE  
ARABIAN DESERT.

PASSING from these references to the subsequent topography of Palestine, to the records of the journey of the Hebrews, on which so much stress has been laid, our attention is forcibly arrested by the nomadic march through the desert of Arabia, and we very soon discover that it is by no means necessary to lose ourselves in any long-drawn inquiries in order to prove, beyond a doubt, the mythic complexion of the whole. This is, even at a first glance, apparent in the frequent derivation of names and the forced introduction of miracles (when the people, for instance, though possessing large herds of cattle<sup>1</sup>, are made to murmur for flesh, merely to furnish an excuse for supplying them with miraculous quails), but may perhaps be most clearly seen in the very assignment of forty as the limited number of years. Forty was a round number, and is still employed as such in the East to express an indefinite quantity<sup>2</sup>, so that a fixed determination of the chronology cannot be thought of, whilst this number is met with in Hebrew history. In confirmation of this

<sup>1</sup> "And a mixed multitude went up also with them; and flocks, and herds, even very much cattle."—*Exod.* xii. 38.

<sup>2</sup> See Bruns on the number forty in the *Memorabilien*, vii. 53; Gesenius, *Lehrgeb.* p. 700.

statement, it is only necessary to draw the attention of the reader to the examples in the following list (in which we designedly omit Ezekiel iv. 6, Jonah iii. 4, and some others)<sup>1</sup> :—

For forty days, the flood increases<sup>2</sup>.

For forty days, the waters subside<sup>3</sup>.

Forty years is the age of Isaac when he marries<sup>4</sup>.

Forty years is the age also of Esau<sup>5</sup>.

Forty years is the age of Moses when he flees from Egypt, and at eighty he stands before Pharaoh<sup>6</sup>.

Forty days he remains on Mount Sinai<sup>7</sup>.

Forty days the spies remain in Canaan<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> "And when thou hast accomplished them, lie again on thy right side, and thou shalt bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days : I have appointed thee each day for a year."—*Ezekiel* iv. 6.

"And Jonah began to enter into the city a day's journey, and he cried, and said, Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown."—*Jonah* iii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> "For yet seven days, and I will cause it to rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights ; and every living substance that I have made will I destroy from off the face of the earth."—*Gen.* vii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> "And it came to pass at the end of forty days, that Noah opened the window of the ark which he had made."—*Gen.* viii. 6.

<sup>4</sup> "And Isaac was forty years old when he took Rebekah to wife, the daughter of Bethuel the Syrian of Padan-aram, the sister to Laban the Syrian."—*Gen.* xxv. 20.

<sup>5</sup> "And Esau was forty years old when he took to wife Judith the daughter of Beeri the Hittite, and Bashemath the daughter of Elon the Hittite."—*Gen.* xxvi. 34.

<sup>6</sup> "And when he was full forty years old, it came into his heart to visit his brethren the children of Israel."—*Acts* vii. 23.

"And Moses was fourscore years old, and Aaron fourscore and three years old, when they spake unto Pharaoh."—*Exod.* vii. 7.

<sup>7</sup> "And Moses went into the midst of the cloud, and gat him up into the mount : and Moses was in the mount forty days and forty nights."—*Exod.* xxiv. 18.

<sup>8</sup> "And they returned from searching of the land after forty days."—*Num.* xiii. 25.

Forty years after the departure out of Egypt Moses dies<sup>1</sup>.

Forty years under Othniel the land was at rest from its enemies<sup>2</sup>.

Forty years it was at rest under Gideon<sup>3</sup>.

Forty years it was subject to the Philistines<sup>4</sup>.

Forty years Eli was high priest<sup>5</sup>.

Forty years was the age of Ish-bosheth when he became king<sup>6</sup>.

Forty years Absalom waits before he rebels<sup>7</sup>.

For forty years David reigned<sup>8</sup>.

For forty years Solomon was king of Israel<sup>9</sup>.

Forty years, finally, Jehoash reigned<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> "And Moses was an hundred and twenty years old when he died : his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated."—*Deut.* xxxiv. 7.

<sup>2</sup> "And the land had rest forty years. And Othniel the son of Kenaz died."—*Judges* iii. 11. [See also *Judges* v. 31 : "And the land had rest forty years."]

<sup>3</sup> "Thus was Midian subdued before the children of Israel, so that they lifted up their heads no more. And the country was in quietness forty years in the days of Gideon."—*Judges* viii. 28.

<sup>4</sup> "And the children of Israel did evil again in the sight of the Lord ; and the Lord delivered them into the hand of the Philistines forty years."—*Judges* xiii. 1.

<sup>5</sup> "And he [Eli] had judged Israel forty years."—1 *Sam.* iv. 18.

<sup>6</sup> "Ish-bosheth Saul's son was forty years old when he began to reign over Israel, and reigned two years."—2 *Sam.* ii. 10.

<sup>7</sup> "And it came to pass after forty years, that Absalom said unto the king, I pray thee, let me go and pay my vow, which I have vowed unto the Lord, in Hebron."—2 *Sam.* xv. 7. [In this passage, some critics, without sufficient reason, have adopted the number *four* for *forty*.]

<sup>8</sup> "And the days that David reigned over Israel were forty years : seven years reigned he in Hebron, and thirty and three years reigned he in Jerusalem."—1 *Kings* ii. 11.

<sup>9</sup> "And the time that Solomon reigned in Jerusalem over all Israel was forty years."—1 *Kings* xi. 42.

<sup>10</sup> "In the seventh year of Jehu, Jehoash began to reign ; and forty years reigned he in Jerusalem."—2 *Kings* xii. 1.

And in like manner also the popular inventive legends of the Hebrew people represent their forefathers as having wandered *forty years* in the desert; nay, with the exception of two individuals (Joshua and Caleb), the whole generation is said to have perished<sup>1</sup> in the interval, and this for no other reason than because the spies had been absent for just the same number of days, and the people had murmured at their report, a pretext very little likely to have satisfied the minds of the multitude.

To meet the difficulty of the wandering for forty years, it has been suggested by some modern critics, that it may have been the wise design of Moses to train his enervated people by a previous course of hardships, before he ventured to attack the warlike tribes of Palestine, of whom the spies had brought no very encouraging report<sup>2</sup>; but the Hebrews, we know, had been long inured to suffering, and had already conquered many nations that opposed them, so that this suggestion, as Friedrich very justly remarks<sup>3</sup>, can only be considered as a makeshift, with no one argument to support it.

<sup>1</sup> "Surely they shall not see the land which I swear unto their fathers, neither shall any of them that provoked me see it."—*Num.* xiv. 23.

"Doubtless ye shall not come into the land, concerning which I swear to make you dwell therein, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua the son of Nun."—*Num.* xiv. 30.

"For the Lord had said of them, They shall surely die in the wilderness. And there was not left a man of them, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua the son of Nun."—*Num.* xxvi. 65.

"And the space in which we came from Kadesh-barnea, until we were come over the brook Zered, was thirty and eight years; until all the generation of the men of war were wasted out from among the host, as the Lord swore unto them."—*Deut.* ii. 14.

<sup>2</sup> See De Wette, *Beiträge* (Contributions), ii. p. 349.

<sup>3</sup> *Segen Jakobs* (Blessing of Jacob), p. 124.

A nomad tribe, moreover, requires no settled plan to induce it to roam in every direction, and with no apparent object, over any country that may happen to lie before it. Such was the wandering life that the Israelites led in the northern district of Arabia, and Goethe has proved, almost with historical evidence, that its duration must be reduced from forty years to little more than two<sup>1</sup>. Geddes<sup>2</sup> and De Wette<sup>3</sup> had previously drawn attention to the long break in the history, from the second year to the fortieth<sup>4</sup>, though this too would appear to have escaped the knowledge of Keil<sup>5</sup>. Fifteen stations, Goethe observes, are mentioned in the Bible, of which we know absolutely nothing, and thirty-eight years of which we have no account, and the list of the places of encampment<sup>6</sup> presents among the names that are known no less than twenty-four which are nowhere else to be met with<sup>7</sup>. The advocates for the authorship of Moses would assure us that the names of these stations were recorded in writing by himself; and Bertholdt supposes, that the pure invention of such a record would have required the most consummate skill and most accurate knowledge of geography<sup>8</sup>: this, however, is by no means so evident. The epico-traditional period of forty years was prescribed to the author of the Book of Numbers, and he does his best to fill it up with the few events which were at his command, even specifying

<sup>1</sup> Westöstlich Divan, 422, *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See Vater's Comment. on Num. xx. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Beiträge (Contributions) ii. 351.

<sup>4</sup> Num. chap. xiii. and xx.

<sup>5</sup> Dorpat, Beiträge (Contributions) ii. 327.

<sup>6</sup> Num. xxxiii.

<sup>7</sup> Rosenmüller, Biblische Alterthümer (Biblical Antiquities), ii. 131.

<sup>8</sup> Introduction, p. 788.

the days and months when they occurred ; and in such a case, it must not be forgotten that names which do not exist may be very easily invented. The other names of places derived from the Arabic, which occur in the Pentateuch, and more especially in Genesis, have either been preserved by Greek authors or continue in use even down to the present day ; some of them too are said to have been found on one of the routes still pursued by caravans in the journey to Egypt. Despite, however, the solicitude of the Mahometans to assign its locality to every sacred name (and especially to such as have any reference to their country), they have done nothing more in this instance than create "*Wells of Moses*" innumerable. It is true that they do term a desert *taih bini Israil* (desert of the children of Israel), but it must be remembered that *taih* denotes any desert, and by no means these wanderings of the Israelites in particular, and that in this part of Arabia wells are the mere work of a moment ; they are everywhere found at a very little depth beneath the surface, and even to the present day might be permanently designated with perfect ease with any ancient name. There would, indeed, be little cause for wonder were the Arabs to point out to us each separate station which is mentioned in the Pentateuch, as the search for sacred places and the construction of fabulous stories, from the details of the Bible history (not very wisely employed to accredit the parent narrative), has ever been a favourite employment of the faithful. The history of Joseph has long been diffused with many additions throughout the whole of the East, while Orosius<sup>1</sup>, Kosmas<sup>2</sup>, and Gregory of Tours were able to discover the tracks of Pharaoh's chariot-wheels in the bed of the Red Sea ; the Indian Moslems

<sup>1</sup> i. 18.

<sup>2</sup> p. 194, in Montfaucon.



describe Kasyapa as one of the admirers of Solomon, point out in their own land the grave of Lamech and the dung-hills of Job; while even modern travellers have actually sought for "the fish-pools of Heshbon," "the tower that looked toward Damascus," and the other poetic images from the Song of Solomon, and, as might be expected, have found them.

If we examine the names of the stations mentioned in the Book of Numbers<sup>1</sup>, the traces of fiction are everywhere sufficiently apparent; we find *bitterness* (marah), *sweetness* (mithk'ah), and *pleasantness* (jot'bathah); *richness* (chashmonah); *shadiness* (tsalmonah); *nomad villages* (chatseroth); *the lower* (tachath); *fright* (cha'radah, which was also the name of a city of Judah); *a tarrying* (terach), *a multitude* ('alush), *an assembly* (k'ehelah), and a second time *an assembly* (mak'heloath). The author enumerates *a thunder mountain* (hor hagidgad), *a beautiful mountain* (hor shepherd), and even *a mountain mountain* (hor hahor), which Aaron ascended in obedience to the commands of Pharaoh, and which was the scene of his death. He even employs *fetters* (mos'eroth), *dew* (ris's'ah), *broom* (rithmah), *skins* ('oboth), and *pomegranate* (rimmon), as the names of places. He betrays, moreover, his imperfect knowledge of the country, in the position he assigns to certain well-known localities,—to two, for instance, which he has taken from Gen. xxxvi. 27, 41. (Ja'ak'an and Punon<sup>2</sup>); to Libna also, and Diblathaim, a city of the Moabites<sup>3</sup>; and to Dibon Gad, which was only built by the tribe of Gad; while

<sup>1</sup> Num. xxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> "The children of Ezer are these; Bilhan, and Zaavan, and Akan. ....Duke Aholibamah, duke Elah, duke Pinon."—Gen. xxxvi. 27, 41.

<sup>3</sup> "And upon Dibon, and upon Nebo, and upon Beth-diblathaim."—Jeremiah xlvi. 22.

Ezion-gaber and Kadesh are made to form one station, notwithstanding the distance between them, because the author did not happen to be acquainted with any intervening places. But the narrator has been guilty of blunders still more glaring at the very commencement of the journey: at Succoth and at Etham the Israelites are still in Egypt, but instead of passing at once through the Red Sea, they are found immediately afterwards encamped near Magdalum (*Migdol*) in Lower Egypt, then at Elim<sup>1</sup>, on the east of the Red Sea, (where, in the true mythic style, there were twelve wells and seventy palm-trees,) and again once more in the desert of Pelusium<sup>2</sup>.

To meet this difficulty, the Harenberg chart carries the people through the lake Sirbonis; to say nothing of the marches and countermarches on many other maps, whose authors have sought to solve the imaginary problem of the wandering for forty years, by the introduction of a large number of new zigzags. But no one of these critics appears to have been struck with the evident exaggeration in the number of the people, and the difficulty of understanding how more than two millions of persons could have wandered

<sup>1</sup> "And they came to Elim, where were twelve wells of water, and threescore and ten palm trees: and they encamped there by the waters."—*Exod.* xv. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Sin, verse 11; for it is sufficiently clear, from verse 15, that this is set down at random, and cannot be meant for Sinai:—"And they removed from the Red Sea, and encamped in the wilderness of Sin. And they took their journey out of the wilderness of Sin, and encamped in Dophkah. And they departed from Dophkah, and encamped in Alush. And they removed from Alush, and encamped at Rephidim, where was no water for the people to drink. And they departed from Rephidim, and pitched in the wilderness of Sinai. And they removed from the desert of Sinai, and pitched at Kibroth-hattaavah."—*Num.* xxxiii. 11-16.

within these limits for a period of forty years, while at the present day the whole peninsula of Sinai contains, as is well known, scarcely 4000 inhabitants, and could not possibly support many more. Eichhorn, indeed, has started the strange hypothesis, that the heads only of the separate tribes may have possibly kept together, till the whole body united again at the close of their march ; but this is utterly inconsistent with the text, and the difficulties which stand in the way of this final reunion would be greater even than those they are intended to remove<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Rosenmüller, *Biblische Alterthümer* (Biblical Antiquities), iii. 113.

## CHAPTER IX.

ALLUSIONS TO LATER EVENTS IN THE PENTATEUCH.  
EXAGGERATION OF NUMBERS.

IN order to obtain a correct point of view for the lists of the tribes and the tables of genealogy, which are usually attributed to Moses, it appears advisable to revert to those general historical features which betray a later origin, before we proceed to examine more closely the various numerical statements, in which we know that the Hebrews generally admitted considerable latitude. The Pentateuch contains allusions to many later events, more especially to those having reference to some of the neighbouring nations, from which all the hostile fabrications of Genesis concerning the Phœnicians, the Edomites, Moabites, and others, would seem to have been subsequently derived<sup>1</sup>. The frequent use of the phrase "unto this day"<sup>2</sup>, which always relates to some very distant period, led even St.

<sup>1</sup> "And these are the generations of Isaac, Abraham's son: Abraham begat Isaac, &c."—*Gen.* xxv. 19.

"And Isaac his father answered and said unto him, Behold, thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above; and by thy sword shalt thou live, and shalt serve thy brother; and it shall come to pass when thou shalt have the dominion, that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck."—*Gen.* xxvii. 39, 40.

<sup>2</sup> "And the younger, she also bare a son, and called his name Ben-ammi: the same is the father of the children of Ammon unto this day."—*Gen.* xix. 38.

"And he called it Shebah: therefore the name of the city is Beer-sheba unto this day."—*Gen.* xxvi. 33.

"Therefore the children of Israel eat not of the sinew which shrank,

Jerome to admit that the Pentateuch might possibly have been revised by Ezra, while more recent critics have endeavoured, like Jahn, to soften this expression, or dispose of it entirely as a gloss. Antiquarian observations, as we have before remarked, are occasionally introduced, and Deut. iii. 11<sup>1</sup> carries, in this manner, its limitation<sup>2</sup> on its face, inasmuch as we know that the city of Rabbah was only taken from the Ammonites by David<sup>3</sup>. The name of Israel, by which the author designates his people, could not have been adopted until after they were formed into a nation; and the book of Genesis, in consequence, endeavours to supply a more convenient derivation<sup>4</sup>. As we proceed, we find

which is upon the hollow of the thigh, unto this day."—*Gen.* xxxii. 32.

"And Jacob set a pillar upon her grave: that is the pillar of Rachel's grave unto this day."—*Gen.* xxxv. 20.

"And Joseph made it a law over the land of Egypt unto this day, that Pharaoh should have the fifth part."—*Gen.* xlvii. 26.

<sup>1</sup> "For only Og king of Bashan remained of the remnant of giants; behold, his bedstead was a bedstead of iron; is it not in Rabbath of the children of Ammon?"—*Deut.* iii. 11.

<sup>2</sup> "Terminus a quo."

<sup>3</sup> "And Joab fought against Rabbah of the children of Ammon, and took the royal city."—*2 Sam.* xii. 26.

<sup>4</sup> "And he said, Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel: for as a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed."—*Gen.* xxxii. 28.

See Note on *Gen.* xxxii. 29. Compare also the following passages:—

"And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel."—*Gen.* xxxvi. 31.

"And these are the names of the children of Israel, which came into Egypt, Jacob and his sons."—*Gen.* xlv. 8.

"Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel: I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel."—*Gen.* xlix. 7.

"Israel then shall dwell in safety alone: the fountain of Jacob shall be upon a land of corn and wine."—*Deut.* xxxiii. 28.

The legal term for sins of incontinence is "*a folly in Israel*":—

"The men were grieved, and they were very wroth, because he

that the Pentateuch even alludes to the Mount of the Temple in Jerusalem<sup>1</sup>, and in Genesis xxii. 2, 3, and Exodus xv. 13, 17. "the mountain of Jehovah's inheritance, which he had made for himself a dwelling and a sanctuary," is so clearly described, that the attempt of Jahn to explain it by "the mountains of Palestine," can only be regarded as a weak subterfuge. In the same way, "the beloved of the Lord dwelling between the shoulders of Benjamin"<sup>2</sup> alludes, without doubt, to the temple built by Solomon, as was evident even to Vitringa<sup>3</sup>.

The author, moreover, is familiar with kings<sup>4</sup>; and in

had wrought folly in Israel in lying with Jacob's daughter."—*Gen.* xxxiv. 7.

"Then they shall bring out the damsel to the door of her father's house, and the men of her city shall stone her with stones that she die: because she hath wrought folly in Israel, to play the whore in her father's house."—*Deut.* xxii. 21.

"According to all the folly that they have wrought in Israel."—*Judges* xx. 10.

"They have committed villany in Israel, and have committed adultery with their neighbours' wives."—*Jeremiah* xxix. 23.

<sup>1</sup> "And he said, Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac, whom thou lovest, and get thee into the land of Moriah; and offer him there for a burnt offering upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of. And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and saddled his ass, and took two of his young men with him, and Isaac his son, and clave the wood for the burnt offering, and rose up, and went unto the place of which God had told him."—*Gen.* xxii. 2, 3.

"Thou in thy mercy hast led forth the people which thou hast redeemed: thou hast guided them in thy strength unto thy holy habitation.....Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance, in the place, O Lord, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in, in the sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established."—*Exod.* xv. 13, 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Deut.* xxxiii. 12.

<sup>3</sup> *De Synag. Vet.* p. 306.

<sup>4</sup> "And I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make nations of thee, and kings shall come out of thee....And I will bless her [Sarah]

many of the passages where he mentions them we find the remarkable expression "before any king ruled over Israel:" this is one of those inadvertencies which struck even the Rabbins themselves, and from which Spinoza inferred that the Pentateuch was not written by Moses<sup>1</sup>. R. Simon also made a similar remark<sup>2</sup>; and in point of fact it is very much the same as if an author of the time of Charlemagne were gravely to inform us that some event he was narrating occurred before the Reformation. The attempts which have been made to defend these expressions consist, when fairly considered, of little more than sophisms. Jahn, Stäudlin<sup>3</sup>, and others suppose, that as Moses had known kings in Egypt, he might very readily conjecture that his own countrymen would eventually choose one themselves.

and give thee a son also of her : yea, I will bless her, and she shall be a mother of nations ; kings of people shall be of her."—*Gen.* xvii. 6 and 16.

"And God said unto him [Jacob], I am God Almighty ; be fruitful and multiply ; a nation and a company of nations shall be of thee, and kings shall come out of thy loins."—*Gen.* xxxv. 11.

"And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel."—*Gen.* xxxvi. 31.

"Out of Asher his bread shall be fat, and he shall yield royal dainties."—*Gen.* xlix. 20.

"When thou art come unto the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein, and shalt say, I will set a king over me, like as all the nations that are about me, &c."—*Deut.* xvii. 14.

"The Lord shall bring thee, and thy king which thou shalt set over thee, unto a nation which neither thou nor thy fathers have known."—*Deut.* xxviii. 36.

<sup>1</sup> p. 108, "Ex his luce meridiana clarius apparet Pentateuchum non a Mose, sed ab alio qui a Mose multis post seculis vixit, scriptum fuisse."

<sup>2</sup> "Il semble que Moïse n'ait pu écrire ces paroles," p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Ammon and Bertholdt's *Journal of Theol. Lit.*, iv. 225.

But they have no other warrant even for these kings of Egypt than that derived from the Pentateuch, which certainly speaks of them there, although in the true spirit of its own Levitical hierarchy as developed before us, it as expressly forbids them at home. Jehovah is Lord of the soil, the firstborn are his priests, and subsequently set apart for his service; the high priest is his vicar on earth, and the people are destined to become a "kingdom of priests<sup>1</sup>," all in exact conformity with the spirit and provisions of the hierarchies of Egypt and India<sup>2</sup>. Even when the people, grown into a nation, required a chief to lead them, before the priesthood had as yet attained its supremacy (a catastrophe of which we find the first indications in the ninth chapter of Judges<sup>3</sup>), and had at length succeeded in obtaining "a king like those of other nations<sup>4</sup>," we find that their monarch is still represented as reigning in the place of Jehovah. When raised to the throne, he is, as it were, "begotten by Jehovah<sup>5</sup>;" he sits on the right hand

<sup>1</sup> "And ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation."—*Exod.* xix. 6.

<sup>2</sup> See Alt. Indien [the Author's work on Ancient India], i. 252, ii. 44.

<sup>3</sup> "Speak, I pray you, in the ears of all the men of Shechem, Whether is better for you, either that all the sons of Jerubbaal, which are threescore and ten persons, reign over you, or that one reign over you? .....And all the men of Shechem gathered together, and all the house of Millo, and went, and made Abimelech king, by the plain of the pillar that was in Shechem."—*Judges* ix. 2, 6.

<sup>4</sup> "Now therefore hearken unto their voice: howbeit yet protest solemnly unto them, and show them the manner of the king that shall reign over them."—1 *Sam.* viii. 9.

<sup>5</sup> "I will be his father, and he shall be my son. If he commit iniquity, I will chasten him with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the children of men."—2 *Sam.* vii. 14.

"Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion. I will declare the decree: the LORD [Jehovah] hath said unto me, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee."—*Psalms* ii. 6, 7.



of God<sup>1</sup>, and on the throne of Jehovah<sup>2</sup>. We find nevertheless that Jehovah, through the mouth of Samuel (the real founder of the Hebrew theocracy), expresses his decided displeasure at the first introduction of the new constitution, without the most distant allusion however to the Pentateuch. The people are accused of rejecting Jehovah, that he should not reign over them<sup>3</sup>; of wishing, as it were, to serve other gods<sup>4</sup>; and fearful instances of royal despotism are cited to deter them<sup>5</sup>. At a later period

<sup>1</sup> "The LORD [Jehovah] said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool."—*Psalms* cx. 1.

<sup>2</sup> "Then Solomon sat on the throne of the LORD [Jehovah] as king instead of David his father, and prospered; and all Israel obeyed him."—1 *Chron.* xxix. 23.

<sup>3</sup> "And the Lord said unto Samuel, Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee: for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them."—1 *Sam.* viii. 7.

"And ye have this day rejected your God, who himself saved you out of all your adversities and your tribulations."—1 *Sam.* x. 19.

<sup>4</sup> "According to all the works which they have done since the day that I brought them up out of Egypt even unto this day, wherewith they have forsaken me, and served other gods, so do they also unto thee."—1 *Sam.* viii. 8.

<sup>5</sup> "And he said, This will be the manner of the king that shall reign over you: He will take your sons, and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen; and some shall run before his chariots. And he will appoint him captains over thousands, and captains over fifties; and will set them to ear his ground, and to reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war, and instruments of his chariots. And he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers. And he will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your oliveyards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants. And he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give to his officers, and to his servants. And he will take your menservants, and your maidservants, and your goodliest young men, and your asses, and put them to his work. He will take the tenth of your sheep: and ye shall be his servants. And ye shall cry out in that day because of your king which ye shall have chosen

the priests gladly seized the first opportunity of destroying this necessary evil; the Pentateuch, however, has it still before its eyes, and hence, in addition to passing indications, whose leaning is sufficiently evident, (the appointment for instance of Aaron the *priest* to assist his less eloquent brother,) it actually lays down some laws which specially refer to this passage in Jewish history<sup>1</sup>. The future king is forbidden to induce the people to return into Egypt in order "to multiply horses;" he is prohibited from keeping many wives, or from laying up a large store of treasure, and he is enjoined above all to keep the law of the Levites and to read therein continually<sup>2</sup>. That these regulations had immediate reference to Solomon's inordinate love of horses<sup>3</sup> (which was actually injurious to the country) and to his numerous concubines<sup>4</sup>, has been long

you; and the Lord will not hear you in that day."—1 *Sam.* viii. 11—18. Compare De Wette, *Beiträge* (Contributions), i. 152.

<sup>1</sup> "When thou art come unto the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein, and shalt say, I will set a king over me, like as all the nations that are about me; thou shalt in any wise set him king over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall choose: one from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee: thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother," &c. — *Deut.* xvii. 14, 15, and following verses.

<sup>2</sup> "And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of that which is before the priests the Levites."—*Deut.* xvii. 18. See also ver. 16, 17.

<sup>3</sup> "And Solomon gathered together chariots and horsemen: and he had a thousand and four hundred chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen, whom he bestowed in the cities for chariots, and with the king at Jerusalem.....And Solomon had horses brought out of Egypt, and linen yarn."—1 *Kings* x. 26, 28.

<sup>4</sup> "But king Solomon loved many strange women, together with the daughter of Pharaoh, women of the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Zidonians, and Hittites....And he had seven hundred wives, princesses, and three hundred concubines: and his wives turned away his heart."—1 *Kings* xi. 1, 3.

and generally admitted<sup>1</sup>. This example lay before their eyes in the pages of history, and, down to the time of the captivity, we meet with kings in abundance who trod in the footsteps of Solomon. To demand here, with Jahn, why this law makes no mention of the idolatry of the kings, or even the division of the kingdom, seems no more reasonable than to require that a fiction should wantonly betray its own fabrication.

The introduction of kings, however, is not the only anticipation of the Pentateuch; it is equally familiar with the captivity, and even holds it out as a punishment. In the book of Deuteronomy we constantly encounter the phrase "I will scatter you among the nations<sup>2</sup>;" in one passage the captivity is expressly described; the *king*, too, is carried away prisoner<sup>3</sup>, and Jehovah manifests thereby his anger

<sup>1</sup> See Jost, iii. p. 112, and Winer, who considers these laws as a subsequent interpolation. *Biblisches Realwörterbuch* (Dict. of Bible), under the word *König* (King).

<sup>2</sup> "And the Lord shall scatter you among the nations, and ye shall be left few in number among the heathen, whither the Lord shall lead you."—*Deut.* iv. 27.

"The Lord shall cause thee to be smitten before thine enemies: thou shalt go out one way against them, and flee seven ways before them: and shalt be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth.....Thy sons and thy daughters shall be given unto another people, and thine eyes shall look, and fail with longing for them all the day long: and there shall be no might in thine hand.....The Lord shall bring thee, and thy king which thou shalt set over thee, unto a nation which neither thou nor thy fathers have known; and there shalt thou serve other gods, wood and stone.....And the Lord shall scatter thee among all people, from the one end of the earth even unto the other; and there thou shalt serve other gods, which neither thou nor thy fathers have known, even wood and stone."—*Deut.* xxviii. 25, 32, 36, 64.

<sup>3</sup> "The Lord shall bring thee, and thy king which thou shalt set over thee, unto a nation which neither thou nor thy fathers have known."—*Deut.* xxviii. 36.

at the transgressions of his people<sup>1</sup>. Even the book of Leviticus contains one striking passage<sup>2</sup>, which derives much additional importance from the fact that it is expressly cited in the second book of Chronicles<sup>3</sup> as referring to the Babylonish captivity. The author, it is clear, has some previous example of exile in his mind, and this must have been necessarily that of the ten tribes in the year 722 B.C., for, as Bertholdt observes, history makes no mention of any earlier removal<sup>4</sup>; but the later date of Deuteronomy enabled this book to include the subsequent calamities of Judah<sup>5</sup>. Jahn has no other resource than to consider these threats as merely of general application, "as Moses might very well suppose that the Israelites at some future time would transgress the laws which he had prescribed to them." In this case it must be confessed that the Talmud shows less prejudice than many more modern apologists; for it expressly refers<sup>6</sup> Deut. xxviii. 36. to the Babylonish

<sup>1</sup> "And the anger of the Lord was kindled against this land, to bring upon it all the curses that are written in this book: and the Lord rooted them out of their land in anger, and in wrath, and in great indignation, and cast them into another land, as it is this day."—*Deut.* xxix. 27, 28.

<sup>2</sup> "And I will scatter you among the heathen, and will draw out a sword after you: and your land shall be desolate, and your cities waste. Then shall the land enjoy her sabbaths, as long as it lieth desolate, and ye be in your enemies' land; even then shall the land rest, and enjoy her sabbaths."—*Lev.* xxvi. 33, 34.

<sup>3</sup> "To fulfil the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the land had enjoyed her sabbaths: for as long as she lay desolate she kept sabbath, to fulfil threescore and ten years."—2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Introduction, 794.

<sup>5</sup> "And the Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again with ships, by the way whereof I spake unto thee, Thou shalt see it no more again: and there ye shall be sold unto your enemies for bondmen and bondwomen, and no man shall buy you."—*Deut.* xxviii. 68.

<sup>6</sup> "The Lord shall bring thee, and thy king which thou shalt set over

captivity<sup>1</sup>, and supposes that Josiah rent his clothes<sup>2</sup> because he too had applied that passage of the law to the captivity.

If, therefore, we find ourselves everywhere separated by an interval of more than a thousand years from the events which the Pentateuch professes to relate, we must, it is evident, apply a new standard of measure to the numbers and tables it contains<sup>3</sup>, more especially when we find that even in the historical books the statements are usually made in round numbers, and often most palpably exaggerated, in order, on every occasion and in every possible way, to enhance the glories of the nation. Names and numbers have never been serious trammels on the fancy of the eastern historian; while the Hindoo is never weary of detailing the extravagant computations of his Kalpas and their absurd exaggerations of number, the Hebrew has occasionally shown a power of imagination not very inferior in kind; for numbers, as De Wette justly remarks, are within the reach of invention no less than other things<sup>4</sup>. From this point of view, we must regard the 4000 musicians for the temple, which the Chronicles very prudently refer back to the times of David<sup>5</sup>, while the book of Kings makes no mention even of singers till so late as the reign of Sothee, unto a nation which neither thou nor thy fathers have known; and there shalt thou serve other gods, wood and stone."—*Deut.* xxviii. 36.

<sup>1</sup> Tract. Joma. chap. v. fol. 52.

<sup>2</sup> "And it came to pass, when the king had heard the words of the book of the law, that he rent his clothes."—2 *Kings* xxii. 11.

<sup>3</sup> According to Bertholdt "these must, beyond all doubt, have proceeded from Moses himself," Introduction, 787. Compare on the other side De Wette, Introduction, p. 190.

<sup>4</sup> Kritik, ii. 325.

<sup>5</sup> "Moreover four thousand were porters; and four thousand praised the Lord with the instruments which I made, said David, to praise therewith."—1 *Chron.* xxiii. 5.

lomon<sup>1</sup>. To the same class belong the enormous number of animals that are said to have been occasionally sacrificed; as 1000 bullocks, 1000 rams, and 1000 sheep, [on the accession of Solomon<sup>2</sup>], and 22,000 oxen and 120,000 sheep at the consecration of the temple, whose blood was sprinkled towards the holy of holies or poured out before the altar<sup>3</sup>. The Hebrew historian dwells with peculiar satisfaction on a profusion of gold and silver; the gold employed for the tabernacle amounted to 29 talents and 730 shekels, besides 100 talents and 1775 shekels of silver<sup>4</sup>. The princes of the tribes bring as offerings for the altar 120 shekels of gold and 2400 shekels of silver<sup>5</sup>, and the booty the Israelites obtained from the small tribe of the Midianites amounted to no less than 72,000 bullocks, 675,000 sheep, 61,000 asses, 32,000

<sup>1</sup> "And the king made of the almug trees pillars for the house of the Lord, and for the king's house, harps also and psalteries for singers: there came no such almug trees, nor were seen unto this day."—1 *Kings* x. 12.

<sup>2</sup> "And they sacrificed sacrifices unto the Lord, and offered burnt offerings unto the Lord, on the morrow after that day, even a thousand bullocks, a thousand rams, and a thousand lambs, with their drink offerings, and sacrifices in abundance for all Israel."—1 *Chron.* xxix. 21.

<sup>3</sup> "And Solomon offered a sacrifice of peace offerings, which he offered unto the Lord, two and twenty thousand oxen, and an hundred and twenty thousand sheep."—1 *Kings* viii. 63.

<sup>4</sup> "All the gold that was occupied for the work in all the work of the holy place, even the gold of the offering, was twenty and nine talents, and seven hundred and thirty shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary."—*Exod.* xxxviii. 24.

<sup>5</sup> "This was the dedication of the altar, in the day when it was anointed by the princes of Israel: twelve chargers of silver, twelve silver bowls, twelve spoons of gold: each charger of silver weighing an hundred and thirty shekels, each bowl seventy: all the silver vessels weighed two thousand and four hundred shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary: the golden spoons were twelve, full of incense, weighing ten shekels apiece, after the shekel of the sanctuary: all the gold of the spoons was an hundred and twenty shekels."—*Numb.* vii. 84, 85, 86.

virgins, and 16,750 shekels of gold<sup>1</sup>; the enemy were utterly annihilated, while of the Israelites not a man was lost; nevertheless in Judges vii. the Midianites are again in full vigour, so that the entire narrative would appear to be merely a legend of the priests, and the whole of its interest confined to the distribution of the plunder<sup>2</sup>. David, moreover, collects a treasure of 100,000 talents of gold and 1,000,000 talents of silver<sup>3</sup>,—equal, according to Eisen-schmidt, to 5,454,200,000 dollars [or £818,130,000<sup>4</sup>], a quantity of the precious metals that could scarcely be found in the whole of modern Europe, much less in ancient Asia; and this same prince destines to the building of the temple no less a sum than 3000 talents of gold<sup>5</sup> (151,200,000 dollars, or £22,680,000), a quantity sufficient to have built a temple of equal size entirely of solid metal. The queen of Sheba presents Solomon with 120 talents of gold<sup>6</sup>, a single voyage to Ophir brings him 450 talents of gold (22,680,000 dollars, = £3,402,000)<sup>7</sup>, and the produce of a single year amounts

<sup>1</sup> Numb. xxxi. 32, 52.

<sup>2</sup> See Ammon, *Fortbildung des Christenthums* (Development of Christianity), i. 126.

<sup>3</sup> "Now, behold, in my trouble I have prepared for the house of the Lord an hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver; and of brass and iron without weight; for it is in abundance: timber also and stone have I prepared; and thou mayest add thereto."—1 *Chron.* xxii. 14.

<sup>4</sup> [Reckoning the Prussian dollar at 3s.]

<sup>5</sup> "Even three thousand talents of gold, of the gold of Ophir, and seven thousand talents of refined silver, to overlay the walls of the houses withal."—1 *Chron.* xxix. 4.

<sup>6</sup> "And she gave the king an hundred and twenty talents of gold, and of spices very great store, and precious stones: there came no more such abundance of spices as these which the queen of Sheba gave to king Solomon."—1 *Kings* x. 10.

<sup>7</sup> "And Hiram sent him by the hands of his servants ships and servants that had knowledge of the sea; and they went with the servants

to 666 talents of gold<sup>1</sup>. A similar tendency to exaggeration may be everywhere detected in the other numerical statements: Samson slays 1000 Philistines with the jaw-bone of an ass<sup>2</sup>, Shamgar 600 with an ox-goad<sup>3</sup>; "and those," says old Paulsen<sup>4</sup>, "to whom this heroic deed seems incredible are somewhat hasty in their judgement, for the hand of God was at work." 3000 men are precipitated from the roof of a building which was supported by two pillars, and all are buried in the ruins<sup>5</sup>. Of the men of Beth-shemesh 50,070 are destroyed because they had looked into the ark<sup>6</sup>; and critics have sought in vain to substitute the reading 70<sup>7</sup>. Saul leads 330,000 men

of Solomon to Ophir, and took thence four hundred and fifty talents of gold, and brought them to king Solomon."—2 *Chron.* viii. 18.

<sup>1</sup> "Now the weight of gold that came to Solomon in one year was six hundred threescore and six talents of gold."—1 *Kings* x. 14.

<sup>2</sup> "And he found a new jawbone of an ass, and put forth his hand, and took it, and slew a thousand men therewith."—*Judges* xv. 15.

<sup>3</sup> "And after him was Shamgar the son of Anath, which slew of the Philistines six hundred men with an ox goad: and he also delivered Israel."—*Judges* iii. 31.

<sup>4</sup> *Ackerbau der Morgenländer* (Agriculture of the East), p. 84.

<sup>5</sup> "Now the house was full of men and women; and all the lords of the Philistines were there; and there were upon the roof about three thousand men and women, that beheld while Samson made sport.....And Samson took hold of the two middle pillars upon which the house stood, and on which it was borne up, of the one with his right hand, and of the other with his left. And Samson said, Let me die with the Philistines. And he bowed himself with all his might; and the house fell upon the lords, and upon all the people that were therein."—*Judges* xvi. 27, 29, 30.

<sup>6</sup> "And he smote the men of Beth-shemesh, because they had looked into the ark of the Lord, even he smote of the people fifty thousand and threescore and ten men: and the people lamented, because the Lord had smitten many of the people with a great slaughter."—1 *Sam.* vi. 19.

<sup>7</sup> Jahn, *Introduction*, i. 479. Compare *Repertor. für Bibl. Literat.* ix. 276.



against the Ammonites<sup>1</sup>, and this number, according to the expression of the text, included the whole people<sup>2</sup>; yet in the reign of David, his immediate successor, the muster of men bearing arms amounts to 1,300,000, so that in the course of a few years the total population must have received an accession of more than three millions<sup>3</sup>. Even this, however, is not sufficient for the amended version of the Chronicles, of which the critic Movers<sup>4</sup> admits that the

<sup>1</sup> "And when he numbered them in Bezek, the children of Israel were three hundred thousand, and the men of Judah thirty thousand."  
—1 *Sam.* xi. 8.

<sup>2</sup> "And the fear of the Lord fell on the people, and they came out with one consent."—1 *Sam.* xi. 7.

<sup>3</sup> "And Joab gave up the sum of the number of the people unto the king: and there were in Israel eight hundred thousand valiant men that drew the sword; and the men of Judah were five hundred thousand men."—2 *Sam.* xxiv. 9.

<sup>4</sup> See Movers, pp. 64, 81, 268, 326. The researches of Movers have been conducted in the true spirit of criticism, and are seldom biassed, except in a few cases of doctrine, by preconceived opinions. The following is a short summary of the result of his inquiries.

The Chronicles are a compilation from the canonical books of Samuel and the Kings, and some other historical documents of a date, it would appear, (though this may be doubted,) anterior to the Captivity (pp. 95, 103). This unknown source of information (p. 162) was Levitical, and was therefore principally concerned with sacred things; it appears, indeed, from the citations themselves to have been a Midrash, or paraphrase and explanation of the books of the Kings, in the spirit of the times succeeding the Captivity (p. 175). It contains reminiscences of other books, Job and the later Psalms, and puts speeches into the mouths of the historical characters which are at variance even with chronology (p. 182). The additions consist mostly of genealogical tables and catalogues of names, but some are derived from tradition (p. 195). The language betrays the later date of the compilation (p. 183), which forms, as it were, a transition to the Apocrypha (p. 194). Movers dates the origin of the Chronicles between B.C. 478 and B.C. 330, but unfortunately he has not studied the profound researches of Zunz, from which it appears that they could not have been earlier than B.C. 260 (see Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden*, pp. 21 and 33). All the imputations

Chronicles raise the census of David to 1,570,000, without including Benjamin and Levi<sup>1</sup>; the same book represents Abijah as taking the field with 400,000 men against Jeroboam with 800,000, of whom Abijah slays 500,000<sup>2</sup>, and it supplies Jehoshaphat with an army of 1,160,000 men<sup>3</sup>,

consequently which have hitherto been thrown on the author of the Chronicles are properly to be charged on the source from which he drew, and on all those points on which he supplies exclusive information such is uniformly the case. In the intentional alterations of numbers, (of many of which Movers has satisfactorily disposed) we may be sure that some reasons existed to justify him: a grammatical correction to suit the number (compare 2 Kings xxiv. 8, with 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9.) is evidence in itself of a well-considered difference of opinion.

Movers appears to refer the origin of the numeral system of the Aramæan inscriptions and Phœnician coins to much too early a date. According to existing specimens, which betray the very first and rudest commencement of the art, it coincides with the period of the Chronicles; and Movers has proved, by very cogent reasons, that it was actually adopted in these books, though the fluctuation between the most ancient mode of expressing numbers by words, the more modern one by means of letters, and the latest by numerals, is sufficient evidence that it was still a very recent invention (see Ewald, *Krit. Gram.* p. 499). Keil supposes that in the numbers 40 and 80 the letters Mem and Phe may have been confounded, without showing how in the ancient writing this could have been the case (ii. 320).

<sup>1</sup> "And Joab gave the sum of the number of the people unto David. And all they of Israel were a thousand thousand and an hundred thousand men that drew sword: and Judah was four hundred threescore and ten thousand men that drew sword."—1 *Chron.* xxi. 5.

<sup>2</sup> "And Abijah set the battle in array with an army of valiant men of war, even four hundred thousand chosen men: Jeroboam also set the battle in array against him with eight hundred thousand chosen men, being mighty men of valour."—2 *Chron.* xiii. 3.

<sup>3</sup> "And these are the numbers of them according to the house of their fathers: of Judah, the captains of thousands; Adnah the chief, and with him mighty men of valour three hundred thousand. And next to him was Jehohanan the captain, and with him two hundred and fourscore thousand. And next him was Amasiah the son of Zichri, who willingly offered himself unto the Lord; and with him two hundred thousand mighty men of valour. And of Benjamin Eliada; a mighty

which statement Movers questions ; lastly, the Chronicles bring Zerah<sup>1</sup> the Ethiopian against Asa with a million<sup>2</sup> of infantry, who are destroyed, to make the victory complete.

Far be it from us, by such examples as we have cited, to bring suspicion on the historical contents of these books, or in the smallest degree to depreciate their real value ; our only object is to prevent the reader from admitting, without due thought, such exaggerated statements as would at once be estimated at their proper worth in the history of any other nation<sup>3</sup>, and still more to prepare him for passing to the review of the mythical narratives of the Pentateuch.

man of valour, and with him armed men with bow and shield two hundred thousand. And next him was Jehozabad, and with him an hundred and fourscore thousand ready prepared for the war."—2 *Chron.* xvii. 14—18. See Movers p. 269.

<sup>1</sup> This name was probably derived from the name in Gen. xxxvi. 13:—"And these are the sons of Reuel ; Nahath, and Zerah, Shammah, and Mizzah."

<sup>2</sup> "And there came out against them Zerah the Ethiopian with an host of a thousand thousand, and three hundred chariots ; and came unto Mareshah.....And Asa and the people that were with him pursued them unto Gerar ; and the Ethiopians were overthrown, that they could not recover themselves ; for they were destroyed before the Lord, and before his host."—2 *Chron.* xiv. 9, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Tacitus, *Annal.* xiii. 39, and elsewhere.

## CHAPTER X.

ASTROLOGICAL ALLUSIONS IN NUMERICAL STATEMENTS.—INCREASE OF THE POPULATION IN EGYPT.—DYNASTY OF THE HYKSOS.—EARLY HISTORY OF MOSES.—PASSAGE THROUGH THE RED SEA.

RETURNING to our review of the Pentateuch, the number of seventy persons who are represented as having gone into Egypt with Jacob<sup>1</sup> is evidently a pure fiction, and belongs to that class which may be fitly termed astrological. We believe that, in addition to the physical groundwork of many of the Hebrew philosophical ideas, an astrological element may be clearly traced in some of the numbers of their early history, and that it is necessary to be upon our guard against ascribing to them more meaning than they really possess, or were formerly known to convey. That the tabernacle, with its three subdivisions, was intended to represent the world, was the opinion even of Josephus<sup>2</sup>; in the holy of holies, (as the heavens,) stood the candlestick with seven branches (which also appears on the monuments of Thebes), to represent the planets; for which reason also, according to the Jews, the names of the seven archangels were emblazoned upon

<sup>1</sup> “And these are the names of the children of Israel, which came into Egypt, Jacob and his sons.....All the souls of the house of Jacob, which came into Egypt, were threescore and ten.”—*Gen.* xlv. 8, 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Archaiol.* iii. 5. Compare Clemens Alex. *Fragm.* p. 1025. Potter.

them. The twelve cakes of shewbread alluded to the course of the sun, the "molten sea" rested on twelve oxen, and the 'Chronicon Paschale' describes the temple therefore, not inaptly, as an image of the world<sup>1</sup>. The high-priest, in the same way, was himself a kind of microcosm, and the whole world (as it is said in the 'Wisdom of Solomon' xviii. 24.) was to be found represented in his ornaments<sup>2</sup>: according to Clemens of Alexandria, the high-priest bore 360 little bells on his tunic, and, though the Jews reduce the number to seventy or seventy-two, and the 'Evangelium Jacobi' speaks of twelve<sup>3</sup>, the difference is of little moment, as in each of these three statements a mystic number has been chosen. His breastplate, moreover, was adorned with twelve precious stones, and we know that the Chaldæans and Bactrians practised magic with jewels, that they arranged them in potent chaplets, and that, according to Martianus Capella, the twelve months were represented by as many coloured gems<sup>4</sup>. The twelve tribes of the Israelites were borrowed, without a doubt, from the Sabæan Arabs and neighbouring nations, for the earlier legends are conformed to this type before the Hebrew distribution is recorded<sup>5</sup>, and it is not without some difficulty

<sup>1</sup> ἐκμαγίον τοῦ παντός. See Fabricius, Bibl. Græc. iv. 14.

<sup>2</sup> ὅλος ὁ κόσμος, Vulg. "totus orbis terrarum." Luther has incorrectly *Schmuck* (ornament).

<sup>3</sup> Fabric. Cod. Apocryph. N. T. i. 86.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxxvii. 14. Ritter, Vorhalle, p. 126.

<sup>5</sup> "And as for Ishmael, I have heard thee: Behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly; twelve princes shall he beget, and I will make him a great nation."—*Gen.* xvii. 20.

"These are the sons of Ishmael, and these are their names, by their towns, and by their castles; twelve princes according to their nations."—*Gen.* xxv. 16.

Compare note on chap. xlviii. and xlix.

that the sons of Jacob are adapted to this predetermined arrangement. As in ancient Egypt the distribution into Nomes was borrowed from the Decani of astrology<sup>1</sup>, as Plato wished to copy his republic from the heavens, and a sign of the zodiac was actually held sacred by every tribe of Arabia<sup>2</sup>, so here, among the Jews, the astrological principle regulating the arrangement of the Levitical camp, with the tabernacle in the centre, is so self-apparent, that its influence has been admitted even in Genesis<sup>3</sup>, and has constantly been explained in this manner by later writers<sup>4</sup>.

To the number seventy also the same remarks are applicable. According to the belief of the Chaldæans, there were seventy nations and seventy languages, with an equal number of tutelary genii<sup>5</sup>; and to some such source (not historical, to say the least,) must be ascribed the seventy elders<sup>6</sup>, the seventy members of the Sanhedrim, the seventy

<sup>1</sup> Diodor. i. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Abulfaradj. Dynast. p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> "And he [Joseph] dreamed yet another dream, and told it to his brethren, and said, Behold, I have dreamed one dream more, and behold, the sun and the moon, and the eleven stars made obeisance to me. And he told it to his father and to his brethren: and his father rebuked him, and said unto him, 'What is this dream that thou hast dreamed? Shall I come, and thy mother, and thy brethren, to bow down ourselves to the earth, to thee?'"—*Gen. xxxvii. 9, 10.*

<sup>4</sup> Expressly by Philo (de Somn. p. 868), Diodorus (in Photius, Cod. 244), by the Priscillianists, who were condemned on this account in a council, A.D. 563. See Kopp, *Palæogr. Crit.* iii. 282. Compare also a treatise on this subject in the *Mémoires de l'Académie*, v. 31; Görres, *Mythengeschichte*, ii. 523; and Kaiser, *Comment.* p. 139: we have no desire to enlarge "on the primitive wisdom" of the latter author, because mysticism of this precise description is, comparatively speaking, of very recent date.

<sup>5</sup> Philo, ii. 29; Didymus in Wolf's *Anecd. Græc.* iv. 2. τὰ πάντα ἔθνη ἰδομένηκοντα. Compare Beausobre, *Manich.* ii. 319.

<sup>6</sup> "And he said unto Moses, Come up unto the Lord, thou, and

interpreters, the seventy years of the Babylonish captivity<sup>1</sup>, and the seventy souls that went down into Egypt.

It is impossible to arrive at anything approaching to historical certainty with respect even to the time which the Israelites remained in Egypt, since the two statements in the Pentateuch itself, of 400 years in Gen. xv. 13, and of 430 years in Exod. xii. 40, are inconsistent with each other, while the interval between Hezron, who went down into Egypt<sup>2</sup>, and his great-grandson Nahshon, the prince of the tribe of Judah<sup>3</sup>, could have scarcely amounted to even 200 years<sup>4</sup>. But wholly apart from this question, the immense increase of the population which is said to have taken place within the interval assigned is open to very serious difficulties; for during this short period, the Israelites, from the seventy males who went down into Egypt, had grown up into a nation numbering 600,000 fighting men<sup>5</sup> and 22,000

Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel; and worship ye afar off.....Then went up Moses, and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel."—*Exod.* xxiv. 1, 9.

<sup>1</sup> See Lengerke on Daniel ix. 25, p. 430 *etc.*

<sup>2</sup> "These are the names of the children of Israel which came into Egypt.....And the sons of Judah; Er, and Onan, and Shelah, and Pharez, and Zarah: but Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan. And the sons of Pharez were Hezron and Hamul."—*Gen.* xli. 8. 12.

[Hezron had three sons, Jerahmeel, Ram, and Chelubai; of these, Amminadab was the son of Ram, and Nahshon, the prince of the tribe of Judah, was the son of Amminadab, and was therefore great grandson of Hezron. See 1 Chron. ii. 9, 10, and Num. ii. 3.]

<sup>3</sup> Num. i. 7.—[After the departure out of Egypt, a leading member of each tribe was elected, in the wilderness of Sinai, to be the captain or prince of his own tribe, and the prince of the tribe of Judah at that time was Nahshon the son of Amminadab.]

<sup>4</sup> See Vater on Exod. xii. 40.

<sup>5</sup> "And the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses to Succoth, about six hundred thousand on foot that were men, beside children."—*Exod.* xii. 37.

Levites<sup>1</sup>, and which, including women, children, and the "mixed multitude," must therefore have amounted, on the lowest computation, to 2,500,000 souls. The small district of Goshen could never have contained so large a population, still less the single province of Rameses, which is expressly mentioned in Exodus as the place where they assembled<sup>2</sup>. That the Egyptians could have exercised such oppression on so powerful a body, situated almost entirely beyond the limits of the valley of the Nile, seems at first sight highly improbable, and the insurrection which Pharaoh feared, would only have been accelerated by the tyrannical measures he is said to have adopted. The march through the Arabian desert is open to still greater difficulties, because each (German) square mile there would have been required to support more than 5000<sup>3</sup> individuals, a proportion which is scarcely reached at the present day even in the most fertile countries of Europe<sup>4</sup>.

But palpable contradictions and other indications enable us to detect the epic source of these exaggerations. At one time the number of men able to bear arms above twenty years of age, is said to amount to 603,550<sup>5</sup>, exclusive of the Levites, and this number is subsequently distributed through their imaginary camp; soon afterwards, however,

<sup>1</sup> "All that were numbered of the Levites, which Moses and Aaron numbered at the commandment of the Lord, throughout their families, all the males from a month old and upward, were twenty and two thousand."—*Num.* iii. 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Exod.* xii. 37. See above, note (<sup>4</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> [The German square mile = 21 English square miles, and  $\frac{5000}{21} = 238$  individuals for each English square mile. The mean population of the British Islands in 1831 was 220 individuals per square mile.]

<sup>4</sup> Even Rosenmüller has some scruples here: *Biblische Alterthümer* (Biblical Antiquities), ii. 1. p. 243.

<sup>5</sup> "A bekah for every man, that is, half a shekel, after the shekel of the sanctuary, for every one that went to be numbered, from twenty



the number of the firstborn males is set down at 22,273<sup>1</sup>. A comparison of these two statements is sufficient to show the fictitious character of the whole census; for from it we may deduce "that every mother, taking one with another, must have brought into the world no less than forty [two male] children<sup>2</sup>;" or, in other words, "that only one

years old and upward, for six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty men."—*Exod.* xxxviii. 26.

"Even all they that were numbered were six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty."—*Num.* i. 46.

<sup>1</sup> "And thou shalt take the Levites for me (I am the Lord) instead of all the firstborn among the children of Israel; and the cattle of the Levites instead of all the firstlings among the cattle of the children of Israel. And Moses numbered, as the Lord commanded him, all the firstborn among the children of Israel; and all the firstborn males, by the number of names, from a month old and upwards of those that were numbered of them were 22,273."—*Num.* iii. 41–43.

[The total number of the firstborn, including the females, was probably at least 44,000, and, making allowance for the firstborn children under a month old, and for deaths, there may have been about 50,000 firstborn individuals in the different families of the Hebrews. Now the number of mothers bearing children must have corresponded with the number of the firstborn children, and there would thus appear to have been only 50,000 mothers bearing children to an adult male population of 600,000, or only 1 woman bearing children to 12 men. It must also be remembered that, as the *firstborn* included all ages from a month *upwards*, many of the mothers must have been already dead; but even allowing 60,000 mothers, the proportion of 60,000 women to 600,000 adult males, i.e. one woman to ten men, is evidently exaggerated among a people where a plurality of wives and concubinage were freely allowed; and it is therefore reasonable to suppose that one or both of these numbers may have been fictitious, and especially that the number of 600,000 adult males may have been greatly exaggerated.]

<sup>2</sup> Michaelis, *Moses Recht* (Law of Moses), ii. 109.—[Michaelis, § 94, assumes that the number of males under twenty years of age must, at the lowest computation, have been equal to half the number of those above it. Now  $603,550 + \frac{603,550}{2} + 22,000$  Levites = 927,325, the whole male population, and  $\frac{927,325}{22,273} = 41.6$ , or 42 nearly. In the British census of 1821 the number of males returned under 20

firstborn child is to be allowed for every forty-two males<sup>1</sup>."

The large extent to which invention has been carried in the numbers assigned to the people, is sufficiently seen in the preference given to round numbers; for all, with scarcely an exception, are found to terminate in hundreds<sup>2</sup>; and the inventive process is still more exemplified in the fact that the second census<sup>3</sup> (except in a few inconsiderable differences) coincides with the first, although not a single individual survived of the whole of that multitude which Moses and Aaron are said to have previously

years of age was 3,072,392; upwards of 20 years of age, 3,002,200, or very nearly *equal*.]

<sup>1</sup> Vater on Num. iii. 39, where no explanation is adduced that at all removes the difficulty. [This verse declares, that "all that were numbered of the Levites, which Moses and Aaron numbered at the commandment of the Lord, throughout their families, all the males, from a month old and upwards, were 22,000."]

<sup>2</sup> See the table in Vater on Num. xxvi. 26.

<sup>3</sup> [A comparative table is here added of the number of grown up men in the first census of the Israelites, in the wilderness of Sinai (Num. i.), and in the second census, forty years after the first, near the river Jordan, in the plains of Moab (Num. xxvi.) :—

Names of Tribes.	First Census. Number of Men.	Second Census. Number of Men.
Reuben .....	46,500	43,730
Simeon.....	59,300	22,200
Gad .....	45,650	40,500
Judah .....	74,600	76,500
Issachar .....	54,400	64,300
Zebulun .....	57,400	60,500
Ephraim .....	40,500	32,500
Manasseh .....	32,200	52,700
Benjamin .....	35,400	45,600
Dan .....	62,700	64,400
Asher .....	41,500	53,400
Naphthali .....	53,400	45,400
Total number of men .....	603,550	601,730 ]

numbered<sup>1</sup>. The Levites, however, had increased from 22,300<sup>2</sup> to 23,000 in the interval, and this was probably the point which offered most interest to the author. It frequently happens, however, that slight inadvertencies will enable us to detect the most skilful exaggerations<sup>3</sup>, and accordingly we find here<sup>4</sup> that Jehovah is said to have determined not to destroy all the nations of Canaan at once, but to drive them out one after another, "lest the land should become desolate;" and in another passage it is stated that the land of Canaan contained "seven nations greater and mightier" than Israel<sup>5</sup>. The writer, it is true, takes the precaution to mention only such tribes as had long been incorporated with his nation, and no longer required

<sup>1</sup> Num. xxvi. 64. It appears from Judges xx. 46. that, even at a much later period, the numbers in the tribe of Benjamin had not reached the amount which is assigned to them in the catalogue.

[Some doubt may arise with reference to Judges xx. 35, and 44-46, if the 26,100, and the subsequent numbers of 18,000, 5,000 and 2,000 can refer to the same individuals. It is stated (verse 15), that "the children of Benjamin were numbered out of the cities, 26,000 men that drew sword, besides the inhabitants of Gibeah, which were numbered 700 chosen men. Among all this people, there were 700 chosen men lefthanded; every one could sling stones at an hair breadth, and not miss. And the men of Israel, besides Benjamin, were numbered 400,000 men, that drew sword: all these were men of war."—25,100 Benjamites are afterwards said to have been destroyed (verse 35), and then we read that 18,000 of the same tribe were killed, and that 5,000 and 2,000 met with a similar fate (verses 44-46), whilst only 600 escaped to the wilderness.]

<sup>2</sup> Num. iii. 22, &c. The omission of the 300 in verse 39 of the same chapter has given rise to many conjectures.

<sup>3</sup> See observations on Gen. chap. xxvi. [in this work].

<sup>4</sup> "I will not drive them out from before thee in one year; lest the land become desolate, and the beast of the field multiply against thee. By little and little I will drive them out from before thee, until thou be increased, and inherit the land."—*Exod.* xxiii. 29, 30.

<sup>5</sup> Deut. vii. 1.

to be kept in perpetual check<sup>1</sup>; but his statement involves the admission that the number of the Israelites was very much smaller than had been elsewhere represented<sup>2</sup>. A similar inference may be drawn from the recorded result. The Israelites do not venture to make an attack on Canaan, but allow themselves to be repulsed by the Amalekites<sup>3</sup>, while the whole people are cast down at the loss of thirty-six of their number<sup>4</sup>. Thus the nation that emigrated from Egypt dwindles into an insignificant band of wandering shepherds or nomads, roving about in quest of fresh pastures, at no determinate time and with no ulterior object.

Every profane record has been long ago searched by critics, in the vain hope of throwing some light on the extraordinary favour which was at first shown to the Israelites in Egypt, and on the oppression which at a later period compelled them to emigrate from that country. The conjecture has been started, that Joseph may possibly have filled some high situation at the court of one of the so-called shepherd kings, whom we know under the name of Hyksos,

<sup>1</sup> The Hittites, the Girgashites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites.

<sup>2</sup> See Michaelis, *Moses Recht* (Law of Moses), i. 113. Rosenmüller, 245, where it is correctly stated that the whole extent of the Hebrew territory could not well, under the most favourable circumstances, support a population of more than 3,000,000, while the statement of the existence of seven other nations, larger than Israel in the land, would assign a population of 13,000 to every (German) square mile [or more than 600 to every English square mile].

<sup>3</sup> "Then the Amalekites came down, and the Canaanites which dwelt in that hill, and smote them, and discomfited them, even unto Hormah."—*Num.* xiv. 45.

<sup>4</sup> "And the men of Ai smote of them about thirty and six men: for they chased them from before the gate even unto Shebarim, and smote them in the going down: wherefore the hearts of the people melted, and became as water."—*Josh.* vii. 5.

or that the Israelites may have been these very Hyksos themselves<sup>1</sup>. This dynasty, which is said to have held the Egyptian throne for two centuries, is supposed to have been of Phœnicio-Arabian extraction<sup>2</sup>, and there is a tradition among the Arabs which represents Egypt as governed for a time by the Amalekites. Manetho adds, that the Hyksos invaded the country by way of Suez, and were eventually expelled again under their leader Osarsiph, to the number of 80,000 men, by Amenoph the father of Sethos, because they were infected with the leprosy. It is clear that the Israelites are here confounded with the Hyksos, but the testimony of Manetho is of much too late a date, and Marsham moreover has shown that very little weight can be attached to this popular version of the story<sup>3</sup>. The leprosy and the expulsion of the Hebrew people are mentioned by other authors<sup>4</sup>. Such malicious statements, however, must be ascribed on both sides to the animosity of rival nations, and, in the view of the impartial critic, can merely serve to neutralize each other. The selfsame spirit which dictated the plunder of the Egyptians and the massacre of their firstborn children, spoke here in their descendants when an infectious disease among the Israelites was assigned as the cause of their expulsion. With respect to other accounts, which speak more favourably of the departure from Egypt, it must not be forgotten that *they* are founded on the statements of the Jewish authors Artapan and Nu-

<sup>1</sup> Von Schlözer, *Geschichte nach ihren Haupttheilen*, (History, according to its principal divisions), p. 181. Eichhorn, *Weltgeschichte*, i. 112.

<sup>2</sup> See Manetho in Josephus *contr. Apion*, i. 14, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Canon Chron. p. 107.

<sup>4</sup> Diodor. Sic. iii. 39. Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 8. Justin. xxxvi. 1, &c. Compare Josephus *contr. Apion*, i. 26, 32.

menius<sup>1</sup>, and therefore have no better title to be admitted in evidence than those of the authors we have mentioned. The theory which supposes that the Hyksos (if indeed they are not themselves the mere creations of Manetho's fancy) may have either favoured the Israelites or subsequently driven them from the country<sup>2</sup>, stands in direct opposition to the whole of the scriptural narrative; for this describes the native Egyptians with their proper language (which was not Semitic), their aversion to shepherds and animal sacrifices, and many other well-known peculiarities.

If we dwell a little longer on the history of the departure from Egypt, in order to see more clearly how far the mythic element pervades it, we shall find that its very hero, the actual founder of the Hebrew nation, is veiled in a dim obscurity which we attempt in vain to penetrate, and that the whole history of his youth may be very fairly characterized as one of those popular legends whose favourite art it is to paint in glowing colours the births of remarkable men. After Pharaoh had oppressed the Hebrews with the heaviest toil<sup>3</sup>, he commands the midwives (of whom but two are mentioned for the whole people) to destroy all the male children at their birth: the midwives, however, are Hebrew women (with fictitious names expressive of their calling), and they fear the anger of Jehovah. Pharaoh next charges his whole people to throw the male children of these Hebrew shepherds into the waters (which were held sacred) of the Nile<sup>4</sup>. The 600,000 men, contemporaries of Moses,

<sup>1</sup> See Eusebius, *Præpar. Evang.* ix. 5, 27.

<sup>2</sup> See Winer, *Realwörterbuch* (Dict. of Bible), under *Joseph*. p. 714. Schumann, *De Infantia Mosis*, in Rosenmüller's *Comment.* ii. 1, p. 214.

<sup>3</sup> Compare, on the contrary, Num. xi. 18. "It was well with us in Egypt."

<sup>4</sup> "And Pharaoh charged all his people, saying, Every son that is

and even his own brethren, are sufficient proof that this cruel order was never executed; or, if it was, we must suppose that it only remained in force for a very limited period<sup>1</sup>.

It would appear, in point of fact, that Moses ran the risk of exposure in an ark of papyrus, daubed over with naphtha<sup>2</sup>, (which also occurs in the Egyptian myth of Osiris,) and was preserved by Pharaoh's daughter, in order to furnish the narrator with a plausible derivation for his name<sup>3</sup>; and the whole of this scene, which represents a king's daughter in a civilized country as going to bathe among the rushes of the Nile (which might have been usual in the Jordan), is so poor an invention that even Josephus<sup>4</sup> has attempted to give a different turn to the story. Indeed the name itself (in the usual style of the attempts at etymology in the Pentateuch) has not been rightly understood, for Moses (*mosheh*) signifies properly "drawing out" (*extrahens*), not "drawn out" (*extractus*<sup>5</sup>); and, notwithstanding the attempts which have been made to support the received meaning from the Coptic, it ought

born ye shall cast into the river, and every daughter ye shall save alive." —*Exod.* i. 22.

<sup>1</sup> See De Wette, *Krit.* ii. 172. &c. Moses is also stated to have been eighty years old when he spake before Pharaoh (*Ex.* vii. 7), and he had previously married the daughter of Jethro, or Reuel (two names for the same man, *Exod.* ii. 18, iii. 1, borrowed from Edomitish history). Compare *Gen.* xxxvi. 4. See *Acts* vii. 23 and 29.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Pliny, *xiii.* 22, *xvi.* 36.

<sup>3</sup> "And the child grew, and she brought him unto Pharaoh's daughter, and he became her son. And she called his name Moses: and she said, Because I drew him out of the water." —*Exod.* ii. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Archaiol.* ii. 9, 5, to say nothing of the supposition of Beer, *Abhandlungen zur Erläuterung der alten Zeitrechnung und Geschichte* (Discourses in illustration of Ancient Chronology and History), i. 122.

<sup>5</sup> As was remarked by Bauer, *Hebr. Mythologie*, i. 267.

rather to be explained as *Archgeta* or *Leader*<sup>1</sup>. The inventive legends of a later period have industriously supplied their embellishing additions; Moses, according to them, led an army into Æthiopia, took ibises with him in order to clear the desert, conquered Meroe, married an Æthiopian princess, and was educated in all the wisdom of the Egyptians<sup>2</sup>. Of all this the ancient text knows nothing, but merely adds, with an obvious purpose, that the founder of the Hebrew theocracy was a son of the tribe of Levi<sup>3</sup>.

The immense multitude of the Israelites, with all their flocks and herds<sup>4</sup>, next marches in regular array<sup>5</sup>, under their leader Moses, through the Red Sea in a night; a feat which, even admitting the full extent of the miraculous drying up of the passage, appears to be utterly impossible. The Red Sea divides, about 28° N. lat., into two branches, which include that part of Arabia in which Mount Sinai is situated, or the Arabian desert (*Arabia Petræa*): with the eastern or Ælanitic gulf we have here no concern, as the Israelites never came into contact with it; but the western branch, which is the proper continuation of the Red Sea, anciently known as the Gulf of Heroopolis, and at present as the Gulf of Suez, extended at an early period much further towards the north; for, according to ancient authors, the city of Heroopolis was situated at its northern extremity; while, at the present

<sup>1</sup> Hüllmann, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> See Josephus, Arch. ii. 9, 10. Acts vii. 22.

<sup>3</sup> "And there went a man of the house of Levi, and took to wife a daughter of Levi."—*Exod.* ii. 1.

<sup>4</sup> "Also take your flocks and your herds, as ye have said, and be gone.....And a mixed multitude went up also with them; and flocks, and herds, even very much cattle."—*Exod.* xii. 32, 38.

<sup>5</sup> *chāmushim*. *Exod.* xiii. 18.



day, the heap of rubbish which marks the ancient site of that town is actually further from the Red Sea than the Mediterranean<sup>1</sup>. From Suez to the neighbourhood of the ancient Heroopolis, where the passage of the Israelites must have taken place, there is now a succession of deep salt-lakes; traces of a former canal are also visible; but it is clear, from the appearance of the ancient bed, that this distant prolongation of the Red Sea must have been here of very trifling width; even at the present day the waves, which are constantly carrying away the sand from the western shore, deposit it as constantly on the east<sup>2</sup>. Even supposing the passage were made further to the south, and through the Gulf in the form it now presents (a supposition to which the situation of Rameses, the place of rendezvous, and the steepness of the mountains on the south, would appear to be strongly opposed), still even here it is only about 1400 paces wide, and so full of reeds, coral-reefs and sand-banks, that an older traveller<sup>3</sup>, as well as Niebuhr and Buonaparte, were able to wade through it during the ebb of the tide. Even Herodotus<sup>4</sup> remarked the influence of the tide on the Red Sea, and the biblical narrative itself suggests the idea of an ebb, as the waters are said to have been driven back by a strong east wind<sup>5</sup>. Other

<sup>1</sup> See Hoffmann, *Geschichte der Veränderungen der Erdoberfläche* (History of the Changes on the Surface of the Earth), i. 388.

<sup>2</sup> Hoffmann, i. 391.

<sup>3</sup> See Vater on Exod. xiv. 22. ["And the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the dry ground; and the waters were a wall unto them, on their right hand, and on their left."]

<sup>4</sup> Herod. ii. 11. Compare Niebuhr, Arab. p. 412.

<sup>5</sup> "And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea; and the Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind, all that night, and made the sea dry land, and the waters were divided."—Exod. xiv. 21. Here the wind should be south. Compare Gen. xli. 6: "Behold, seven thin

leaders, it appears, in ancient times have repeatedly taken advantage of this ebb on similar occasions, and in their case also subsequent generations have sometimes ascribed the success of the attempt to miraculous interposition. So Scipio, we find, is said to have referred it to the gods<sup>1</sup>. Ammon has well observed that "this opinion, which a century ago was condemned as heretical, has now become a matter of absolute certainty<sup>2</sup>." The fact itself may therefore be allowed to stand; but we must not attempt to transfer these poetical embellishments into the realms of history, on account of the graphic details they may chance to present, still less may we venture to ascribe them to the pen of Moses himself.

The same remarks apply to the chronology of the Pentateuch, which, even in its leading features, is not consistent throughout, and is full of minor contradictions<sup>3</sup>; and they apply with still greater force to its proper names and genealogies, though even these are supposed to be absolutely free from error<sup>4</sup>. To invent names is an easy matter, and they are in general more difficult of detection than the fictitious narratives appended to them; this is seen in the absurd nomenclature of the Arabian pedigrees, reaching from Ishmael to Mahommed<sup>5</sup>, and even mixed

ears, and blasted with the east wind, sprung up after them."—[The east wind may have been adopted into the text, in order to divide the waters across, with a wall of water on each side of the passage.]

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxvi. 45, "in prodigium vertens." Compare Strabo, xiv. 2. with Josephus, Archaiol. ii. 16, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ammon, Fortbildung des Christenthums, i. 102.

<sup>3</sup> See observations on Gen. xxvi. xxvii. xxxiv. xxxv. 26, xxxviii. xliii. xlv. [in this work.]

<sup>4</sup> See observations on Gen. xxvi. 34. xxxvi. xlv. [in this work.]

<sup>5</sup> See Hottinger, Hist. Or. 17, &c. A second and different pedigree is given by Reiske on the Tharafa.

up with the names of the kings of Persia, or in the string of names in the first chapter of the first book of Chronicles. Moreover those who take all these parts of the Pentateuch on trust, would prove on the other hand too much, and consequently nothing, since even the pedigree of the patriarchs before the flood is given therein with the most minute particulars. Bleek<sup>1</sup> lays considerable stress on the laws which relate to the camp, but the Israelites were frequently obliged to have recourse to encampments even after they were settled in Palestine; and much which appears to be historical, —the conquest, for instance, of the Amalekites,—may have been derived from tradition, or, which is perhaps as probable, referred back to ancient times from the existing circumstances of the day.

<sup>1</sup> Stud. und Kritik, 1831, p. 488, &c.

## CHAPTER XI.

## INTERPOLATIONS IN THE PENTATEUCH.

It has been said that, admitting the Pentateuch to be the work of Moses, it is still conceivable that the text may have been disfigured by subsequent interpolations. The first thing which strikes us on the very threshold of this question, is the strange diversity in the opinions that have been formed of Moses' style of composition. The Rabbins believe him to have made thirteen copies of the Pentateuch, that the twelve tribes and the Levites might each possess one; Fritzsche and Rosenmüller tell us that the abruptness of the language arose from the multiplicity of his engagements, and that the tone of the aged legislator may be distinctly recognized in the diffuse and admonitory style of Deuteronomy; while Eckermann<sup>1</sup>, on the contrary, would allow him a very large share of leisure and repose. Moses is certainly said to have been eighty years old when he first spoke unto Pharaoh<sup>2</sup>, and afterwards, according to the expression of the Pentateuch, he is described as "a harassed man"<sup>3</sup>; but, notwithstanding this, the contradictions and repetitions are too numerous to find a sufficient apology

<sup>1</sup> Beiträge (Contributions), p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> "And Moses was fourscore years old, and Aaron fourscore and three years old, when they spake unto Pharaoh."—*Exod.* vii. 7.

<sup>3</sup> [The English received version has "meek." "Now the man Moses was very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth."—*Num.* xii. 3.]

even in the most dotting old age of any eye-witness or contemporary. The repetitions too, it must be remembered<sup>1</sup>, are often inconsistent with each other<sup>2</sup>, and thus clearly point to fictitious additions, or a compilation from older materials: thus different localities are assigned to the same circumstance<sup>3</sup>; manna is placed in the holy of holies<sup>4</sup>, and the people go to the tabernacle<sup>5</sup>, though neither of them was at that time in existence, and their erection is only narrated in a subsequent chapter<sup>6</sup>. In many of these cases critics have had recourse to interpolations, insertions and later additions, and modern apologists have added a long list to the original eighteen passages which the Rabbins had marked as spurious; to these they give the names of *interpolations*, *glosses*, *marginal notes*, and *additions*,

<sup>1</sup> Even Eichhorn admits them to be verbal repetitions, affecting not merely detached parts, but every portion of the history.

<sup>2</sup> See Vater, p. 406.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Exod. xvii. 1 with Num. xx. 1, 2:—

“And all the congregation of the children of Israel journeyed from the wilderness of Sin, after their journeys, according to the commandment of the Lord, and pitched in Rephidim: and there was no water for the people to drink. Wherefore the people did chide with Moses.”—*Exod.* xvii. 1, 2.

“Then came the children of Israel, even the whole congregation, into the desert of Zin, in the first month: and the people abode in Kadesh; and Miriam died there, and was buried there. And there was no water for the congregation: and they gathered themselves together against Moses and against Aaron.”—*Num.* xx. 1, 2.

<sup>4</sup> “And Moses said unto Aaron, Take a pot, and put an omer full of manna therein, and lay it up before the Lord, to be kept for your generations. As the Lord commanded Moses, so Aaron laid it up before the Testimony, to be kept.”—*Exod.* xvi. 33, 34.

<sup>5</sup> *Exod.* xxxiii. [In this chapter, it is said, that “Moses took the tabernacle, and pitched it without the camp, afar off from the camp, and called it The Tabernacle of the Congregation.”—*Exod.* xxxiii. 7.]

<sup>6</sup> *Exod.* xl. [The erection of the tabernacle, by Moses, is described in verses 17, 18, &c. of this chapter, and it is said to have taken place in the second year, verse 17.]

which have, they say, been accidentally introduced into the text. Nay, Kelle<sup>1</sup> breaks up the book of Genesis to such an extent, that, after removing the "*dross*," as he terms it, but little is left remaining. We subjoin a small collection of those passages which, from their being evidently unmosaic, have been erased by a single stroke of the pen.

Gen. ch. i.-iv. Bertholdt.  
iv.-vi. 8, Kelle.  
ix. 20, to ch. x. Kelle.  
xi. 1-26, Kelle.  
xii. 8, Bertholdt.  
xiii. 18, Le Clerc, Jahn, Bertholdt.  
xiv. 14, Bertholdt, Rosenm.  
xv. 13-16, Bertholdt.  
xxii. 14, Bertholdt.  
xxiii. 2, Bertholdt.  
xxvi. 33, Bertholdt.  
xxxiv.-ch. l. Bertholdt.  
xxxv. 11, Jahn.  
xxxv. 20, Bertholdt.  
xxxvi. 31, Bertholdt.  
ch. xxxvi., Jahn.  
ch. xlix., Bertholdt.  
Exod. vi. 13-29, Jahn.  
vii. 7, Jahn.  
xi. 1-3, Jahn.  
xii. 8-11, Jahn.  
xii. 42, Jahn.  
xv. 35, Eichhorn.  
xvi. 32-36, Jahn.  
xxxiii. 7-11, Jahn.  
xxxiv. 33-35, Jahn.  
Levit. ch. xi.-xv., Bertholdt.

Levit. ch. xxvi., Bertholdt.  
xxxiii. 21, Jahn.  
Num. xii. 3, Eichhorn.  
xxi. 14, 15, Jahn.  
xxi. 17, 18, Jahn.  
ch. xxii.-xxiv., Bertholdt.  
xxiv. 2, 3, Rosenmüller.  
xxxii. 41, Jahn.  
ch. xxxiii., Kelle.  
Deut. ii. 10-12, Eichhorn.  
ii. 20-23, Eichhorn.  
iii. 4, Jahn.  
iii. 9-11, Jahn, Eichhorn.  
iii. 11, 12, Eichhorn.  
iii. 14, Jahn.  
x. 6-9, Jahn.  
xiv. 13, Eichhorn.  
xvii. 14, Bertholdt.  
xix. 14, Bertholdt.  
ch. xxviii. Bertholdt.  
ch. xxxii. Jahn, Eichhorn, Bertholdt.  
ch. xxxiii. Eichhorn, Bertholdt.  
xxxiii. 8-11, Jahn.  
xxxiii. 20, Jahn.  
xxxiv. 1, Jahn, Bertholdt.

<sup>1</sup> Vorurtheilsfreie Würdigung der Mosaischen Schriften, &c., (Unprejudiced Estimate of the Mosaic Writings, as evidence that the foundation of the first book (Genesis) consisted in only one original work, well connected in its parts, but much interpolated.) Freiburg. 1812.

Is it allowable, we would ask, to proceed in this manner with all the writings of antiquity? Are we at liberty to throw suspicion on a number of single verses, and even on whole chapters, or to omit them entirely, not because the laws of criticism have proved them to be spurious, but because they are opposed to some preconceived opinion of our own? May we suppose that three or four different hands were concerned in the composition of the Pentateuch<sup>1</sup>, in order to accommodate it to some favourite hypothesis? May we condemn a whole verse<sup>2</sup> as an interpolation, merely to get rid of a remark on the word *nabi'* (prophet), because it chances to be at variance with the general usage of the Pentateuch? Are we at liberty to place to the account of some ignorant transcriber all the Hebrew names so closely interwoven with the narrative in the first nine chapters of Genesis, because, as we are told, Hebrew was not the language of the antediluvian patriarchs?

It is probable, we may grant, that no written memorial of antiquity has descended to our times entirely free from the errors of copyists or occasional glosses of critics, but the Hebrew writings are precisely those which (under a conscientious employment of the Masora) may boast of the greatest correctness. In the case before us, it is the province of criticism to discover whatever errors may exist, by a careful collation with the ancient versions, or by such internal evidence as the language and connexion may supply; but it appears a very arbitrary mode of proceeding to seek only to attack those particular portions which are

<sup>1</sup> Bertholdt, Introduction, p. 842.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. ix. 9, according to Jahn.

manifestly opposed to statements of an unauthenticated writer. A cursory perusal of the Pentateuch is sufficient to show, that all those passages which have lately been condemned as "unmosaic" are integral parts of the whole, and inseparably connected with the context; and, after all, very little is gained by their omission, for the Pentateuch would necessarily be reduced to the smallest fragments,—nay, under a strict examination, would vanish entirely away,—if every portion at variance with the age of Moses were for that reason to be rejected<sup>1</sup>. It is clear also that, as in this case the whole of the text must be sacrificed, so in the other the whole would assume the character of complete and consistent unity, if we are only content to abandon an untenable hypothesis.

It may easily be proved, from the later writings of the Israelites, that, on patriotic and religious grounds, considerable license was always allowed (and particularly at more recent periods) in the treatment of their ancient legends and history. The so-called *Midrash*, or method of interpretation, was early introduced, and, in relation to law and tradition, was divided into *Halacha* (rule) and *Hagada* (said), nearly in the same way as the Hindoos have their commentaries on the law (*smriti*) and on revelation (*sruti*). This expository Hagada is found as early as Jeremiah<sup>2</sup>, then in the Chronicles, the books of Jonah and Daniel, and above all in Genesis, which, according to a numerical statement given by Zunz<sup>3</sup>, contains a larger proportion of such explanations of the names of places and persons, with narratives to support them, than any other book of the

<sup>1</sup> Compare Vater's Comment. p. 488. De Wette, Introduction § 147 a. Jost. Introd. iii. 121, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. i. and li.

<sup>3</sup> Page 170.



Old Testament. It is moreover known that the Samaritans, in their own defence, date their temple on Mount Gerizim as far back as the time of Joshua; that Josephus gives a freer version of the history of his country, to adapt it to his heathen readers; that the Targumists have added many fictitious circumstances to the text; that even since the Christian æra a whole chapter<sup>1</sup> has arisen so true to

<sup>1</sup> Pococke is said to have actually found this chapter in a manuscript at Cairo. The Talmud too is supposed to have been acquainted with it. Saadi alludes to it in his 'Bustan' (see *Asiat. Journ.* iii. 315). Taylor cites it in the middle of the seventeenth century, and it has now become generally known through the means of Franklin, [by whom it was communicated to Lord Kames,] who quotes it in his 'Sketches' as a parable against intolerance. It runs as follows:—

1. Now it came to pass that Abraham sat at the door of his tent in the heat of the day. 2. And behold a man drew nigh from the wilderness, and he was bowed down with age, and his white beard hung down even to his girdle, and he leant upon his staff. 3. And when Abraham saw him he stood up, and ran to meet him from the door of his tent, and said, 4. Friend, come in; water shall be brought thee to wash thy feet, and thou shalt eat and tarry the night, and on the morrow thou mayest go on thy way. 5. But the wayfaring man answered and said, Let me, I pray thee, remain under the tree. 6. And Abraham pressed him sore; then he turned and went in to the tent. 7. And Abraham set before him cream and milk and cake, and they ate and were satisfied. 8. And when Abraham saw that the man blessed not God, he said to him, Wherefore dost thou not honor the Almighty, the Creator of the heavens and the earth? 9. And the man answered, I worship not thy God, neither do I call upon his name; for I have made gods for myself that dwell in my house, and hear me when I call upon them. 10. Then the wrath of Abraham was kindled against the man, and he stood up and fell upon him, and drove him forth into the wilderness. 11. And God cried, Abraham! Abraham! and Abraham answered, Here am I. 12. And God said, Where is the stranger that was with thee? 13. Then answered Abraham and said, Lord, he would not reverence thee nor call upon thy name, and therefore have I driven him from before my face into the wilderness. 14. And the Lord said unto Abraham, Have I borne with the man these hundred and ninety-eight years, and given him food and raiment although he has rebelled against me, and canst thou not bear with him one night? 15. And

the spirit of antiquity, in such complete keeping with the original, that in a less critical age it might easily have gained a place in the books of the Law<sup>1</sup>; and lastly, that Jews have continued the Hagada down to the present day, though usually in a style as remarkable for its absurdity as for its poverty of invention. They tell us, for instance, that when Abel disputed with Cain on sacrifice and the immortality of the soul, the latter was smitten with the leprosy, or had a horn on his forehead; that it seems very probable that Canaan castrated his father; that Noah planted a vine with the help of the devil, and sacrificed on that occasion a sheep, a lion and a swine, because with the first draught of wine man becomes a sheep, with the second a lion, and lastly a swine, and a great deal more of the same description. But though it be admitted that there were originally (according to the opinion of one of the Rabbins) two or more rolls of the Law, differing from each other<sup>2</sup>, and though it can be proved that the Samaritans, as a sect, did not scruple to make arbitrary changes in the text, these admissions nevertheless could have no reference to our copy of the Pentateuch. For it is just as certain, that a subsequent period did arrive when the veneration of the Jews for the older writings was carried to such a pitch that, except in the case of Daniel (under the garb of an ancient prophet), not a single book could obtain a place among the *Ketubim*<sup>3</sup>; and from that time

Abraham said, Let not the wrath of my Lord be kindled against his servant, behold I have sinned! forgive me. 16. And Abraham stood up and went forth into the wilderness, and cried and sought the man, and found him and led him back into his tent, and dealt kindly by him, and the next morning he let him go in peace.

<sup>1</sup> Codex.

<sup>2</sup> See R. Asaria, in Gesenius de Pentateuch, Samar. p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> See Zunz, p. 34.

downwards, the text itself, though notes and commentaries were appended to it, remained perfectly sacred and inviolable. It would indeed have been a most extraordinary fact, if a later copyist or glosser had only introduced precisely the very verses, historical allusions, complete narratives and chapters, which are the strongest evidence against the authorship of Moses.

While the Samaritans, in their anxiety to support their own doctrines, have rejected those parts exclusively which were most inconsistent with their object, and while Josephus modified what was most likely to prove offensive [to the Gentiles], a course the very opposite would have been adopted here, and a spirit most studiously infused into the whole at utter variance with all pretension to a high antiquity.

Whoever, therefore, brings forward interpolations of the Pentateuch as an argument [for the high antiquity of that book,] must go beyond the period of our Canon into the region of pure conjecture, or he must arrive at the probable epoch when the whole Pentateuch was first produced.

## CHAPTER XII.

## CONSTITUTION OF THE ISRAELITES.

IT has been said that *the constitution of the Israelites, from the time of Moses downwards, uniformly presupposes the existence of the historical and legislatorial portions of the Pentateuch, and more especially of those which relate to the division of the tribes, the nature of the Deity, and the Levitical law, worship and festivals, inasmuch as idolatry and disobedience are constantly followed by a return to the Mosaic constitution*; and therefore, that “nothing but prejudice or party spirit can prevent us from recognizing these writings as Mosaic<sup>1</sup>.” This argument supplies a perfect specimen of that figure of speech which logicians term *hysteronproteron* [or the substitution of the effect for the cause], and by a parallel process we might argue precisely as follows:—

In the early history of the Christian church we find a large amount of freedom and a complete independence of the influence of the hierarchy, but at the same time a systematic attempt on the part of the clergy to obtain the ascendancy; and consequently the constitution of the church in the first centuries necessarily presupposes the existence of the pretended decretal epistles of Isidore (which were forged at Mayence about A.D. 840), inasmuch as these

<sup>1</sup> Jahn, *Introd.* ii. 26, &c. Rosenmüller, *Prolegg.* p. 10.

appear to form the very corner-stone of the whole fabric of papal supremacy.

It is an historical fact that, down to the period of the Babylonish exile, the Hebrew people had constantly wavered between the religious systems of neighbouring nations; and it is equally true, that the more intelligent among them (such as were also to be found among other nations which had attained some degree of culture, and especially among the Phœnicians) had sought to effect a greater uniformity of belief and to suppress glaring idolatry. But any reform which may have been accomplished by these enlightened individuals was, we may be sure, very different from that which we find in the books of the law. This may be seen from the little which had been effected even at a later period, when one of the priests is stated to have "taught the people *how they should fear the Lord*," without alluding to any written law<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, we cannot admit that the evidence of these books of the law, or of those which are acknowledged to be of a still later date (as the Chronicles, the principal authority of Jahn,) is at all sufficient to prove that the *Levitical system* was the constant object of these pious men of old, who are veiled in a kind of glory. If this inference had been correct, the history of the Pentateuch would have been not a little remarkable, as Leo and De Wette justly observe; for after having been neglected in its most weighty enactments, from the death of Moses downwards, it is only after a thousand years have passed away that we find its laws observed even to their minutest particular; whereas in

<sup>1</sup> "Then one of the priests whom they had carried away from Samaria came and dwelt in Beth-el, and taught them how they should fear the Lord."—2 *Kings* xvii. 28.

every other instance upon record, legislative systems have been observed with the greatest strictness at the period of their first introduction, and have only fallen by slow degrees into neglect.

After all, this argument is far from proving the existence of any *written* document; for it is evident that the system, as introduced by Moses, might have remained an acknowledged standard for the guidance of the priests, although it had never been committed to writing; and the observance of a particular law or usage is no conclusive evidence of the existence of a written code; indeed, as Herbst has very justly observed, a partial acquaintance with the contents of the Pentateuch might have been possibly derived from some independent source<sup>1</sup>. The argument of Bertholdt, that the administration of justice in the middle ages was also very defective, notwithstanding the existence of the Justinian Code, is by no means applicable to the case before us; for it cannot be maintained that the whole system of the popular religion was founded on the provisions of this imperial code, and still less that its laws describe by anticipation the very crimes to which the middle ages first gave birth. We are willing, nevertheless, to submit to a closer examination the principal points that have been mentioned, omitting those traditional allusions to the merits of Moses, the departure from Egypt, &c., which are of constant occurrence throughout the national literature.

We may devote the less space to the civil constitution of the Israelitish nation, as this remained, even under the Kings, an unvaried Nomocracy [or government of tribes], derived from a family constitution, such as it exists to the

<sup>1</sup> Observationes quædam de Pentat. quatuor librorum posteriorum, auctore et editore Elwang (1817), § 9.

present day among the Bedouin Arabs<sup>1</sup>. The father of the family (in Hebrew termed *nasi*<sup>2</sup> and *zak'in*, in Arabic *sheikh*, and in Greek *patriarches*, or chieftain,) is also the head and leader of his tribe, in which he has the power of life and death; he is the high-priest who offers the sacrifices, and it is he who declares war or forms alliances with other tribes. His subjects therefore, or the members of the same tribe, call each other brothers, and are considered as children of the same sheikh. But in process of time, neither the scrupulous exactness of their tables of genealogy, nor even their aversion to neighbouring tribes, has proved sufficient to prevent the different families from intermarrying with each other, more particularly when, as is frequently the case, they have attached themselves to some larger tribe, and thus, under one superior sheikh, have occasionally assumed the form of a confederate state, or, as we might almost term it, a kind of constitutional monarchy. These larger associations are mostly bound together by a complete similarity of interests (especially in war and plunder), as is the case among the Wahabees. The settled tribes of the Afghans may also supply us with an instructive example; each separate tribe is independent of the rest, and may make more or less advancement in its culture, according to the external influences to which it may chance to be subjected, while all are related by a common language, and are bound together by submission to a single king, who generally belongs to the tribe of the greatest political importance.

Abraham and the succeeding patriarchs are represented as shepherd-emirs, with unlimited power over their families

<sup>1</sup> See Arvieux, Customs of the Bedouins (translated by Rosenmüller), and Rommel. in the Encycl. under *Beduinen*.

and herds, and the same state of things would appear to have prevailed among the contemporary tribes who dwelt in ancient Palestine. In the interview with the Hivites we find the sheikh at the head of his people<sup>1</sup>; and the kings, who are mentioned among the original inhabitants<sup>2</sup>, are all to be considered as the settled chieftains of single villages. The later author of the poetical book of Job introduces his hero in like manner as a shepherd-emir; for even after the government was fully organized, a Hebrew could be at no loss to find an original for such a picture; and those parts of Genesis which have been thought to present under this aspect the strongest traces of antiquity, might at all times have been copied from some of the neighbouring nations, or even from portions of Palestine itself, especially from the pasture-grounds on the eastern side of the Jordan. Even those plundering expeditions, so common among the tribes of the desert, do not appear to have been wholly unknown to the Hebrews. The more ancient poetry of Genesis betrays the existence of such practices in the tribes of Dan and Benjamin<sup>3</sup>. Jephthah collects a set of loose characters about him<sup>4</sup>; the men of Shechem go out to seek plunder and waylay caravans<sup>5</sup>; and David, in like

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Joshua slew thirty-one of these kings.—*Jos.* xii. 7-24.

<sup>3</sup> "Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder in the path, that biteth the horse heels, so that his rider shall fall backward..... Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf: in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil."—*Gen.* xlix. 17, 27.

<sup>4</sup> "Now Jephthah the Gileadite was a mighty man of valour, and he was the son of an harlot..... There were gathered vain men to Jephthah, and [they] went out with him."—*Judges* xi. 1, 3.

<sup>5</sup> "And the men of Shechem set liers in wait for him in the top of the mountains, and they robbed all that came along that way by them: and it was told Abimelech."—*Judges* ix. 25.



manner, attacks the Philistines without a cause<sup>1</sup>. Even in the mythic records of the heroic age, under the chiefs called Judges, twelve tribes (*shēbat'im*) are said to have formed themselves into a single body, while separately they were still divided into houses (*mishpachoth*), and these again into families (*bothim*), in which also the first place was uniformly given to the firstborn. Each tribe would appear to have enjoyed a distinct government under its own chief, (*nasi'*); Jephthah fights with Ephraim<sup>2</sup>; Benjamin alone is conquered by the other tribes<sup>3</sup>; each goes to war with its immediate neighbours, and no one appears subordinate to the rest, though a common bond of union (never, it must be owned, very strict, and occasionally interrupted by jealousy<sup>4</sup>) is still visible, and in their wars with the neighbouring nations was often imperatively necessary. Thus Judah and Simeon succour each other in their difficulties<sup>5</sup>, and the signal for a general gathering is given by the sound of a trumpet<sup>6</sup>. In many cases, however, only those in the

<sup>1</sup> [The Philistines had been fighting against Keilah and robbing the threshing-floors.—“David and his men went to Keilah, and fought with the Philistines, and brought away their cattle, and smote them with a great slaughter. So David saved the inhabitants of Keilah.”—1 *Sam.* xxiii. 5.] Compare Michaelis, *Mos. Recht*, i. 247.

<sup>2</sup> “Then Jephthah gathered together all the men of Gilead, and fought with Ephraim: and the men of Gilead smote Ephraim, because they said, Ye Gileadites are fugitives of Ephraim among the Ephraimites, and among the Manassites.”—*Judges* xii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> “So all the men of Israel were gathered against the city [of Gibeah of Benjamin], knit together as one man.”—*Judges* xx. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *Judges* xxi. 1. “Now the men of Israel had sworn in Mizpeh, saying, there shall not any of us give his daughter unto Benjamin to wife.”

<sup>5</sup> “And Judah said unto Simeon his brother, Come up with me into my lot, that we may fight against the Canaanites; and I likewise will go with thee into thy lot. So Simeon went with him.”—*Judges* i. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Judges* vi. 34, and other places.

immediate neighbourhood obey this summons, and the ancient Song of Deborah complains that Reuben, Gad and Asher had remained at home. The Judges themselves were only temporary leaders, whom Jehovah is said to have raised up at times among his people<sup>1</sup>; that is, men who, by their bravery and enthusiastic patriotism, protected the associated tribes against the attacks of their enemies. The approval of the elders was necessary to confirm them in their office<sup>2</sup>; and yet they were not, strictly speaking, elected, but came spontaneously forward, just as the Bedouin tribes among the Arabs still occasionally combine under a single emir in a common defensive alliance.

Thus then it appears that the whole of this period, the deeds of which have been transmitted in legends and songs to posterity, completely resembles, in its divisions and want of regular government, the condition of the tribes of ancient Arabia before the time of Mahommed: these tribes speak indeed in their traditions of an earlier union under a single head of the family, but at the time when they first appear in history they are opposed to each other as distinct and hostile *Nomi* [or tribes], and are only kept together by the feeble tie of an ancient temple at Mecca, dedicated to their national god and held in general veneration. We derive the same impression from the whole of the book of Judges, which, while it expressly asserts that "in those days there

<sup>1</sup> "And when the Lord raised them up judges, then the Lord was with the judge, and delivered them out of the hand of their enemies all the days of the judge."—*Judges* ii. 18.

"And when the children of Israel cried unto the Lord, the Lord raised up a deliverer to the children of Israel, who delivered them, even Othniel the son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger brother."—*Judges* iii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> "Then Jephthah went with the elders of Gilead, and the people made him head and captain over them."—*Judges* xi. 11.

was no king in Israel<sup>1</sup>," (an announcement sufficiently proving the later origin of the book<sup>2</sup>.) concludes by informing us that, after all their struggles for possession, the tribes had at last withdrawn to their own inheritance, or, in other words, that their final settlement was only then completed. After this period of rude force, which, considering the condition of the people, must have had a much shorter duration than the five hundred years which are usually assigned to it, we approach with Samuel to what may in some measure be considered as the threshold of genuine history, although it is not until long after the time of David that we enter completely within its portal. Notwithstanding the more intimate connexion of events, the number forty (as a measure of time) is still constantly employed; names of kings, formed from subsequent events, as *the Favoured one, the Beloved, the Peaceful*, still frequently occur, and a sort of mythic twilight generally surrounds the narrative. The elders still assemble in council<sup>3</sup>; the ancient division into tribes is still retained, and does not entirely disappear until after the Captivity, when only the tribe of Judah returned. Nevertheless it is certain, that under the kings the people were united more closely, and were organized on settled principles; but these details have little connexion with the present inquiry, and can exercise little influence on the answer to those arguments in defence of the Pentateuch which we have now been considering. We would merely wish to suggest these preliminary questions:—What was then the bond, exclusive

<sup>1</sup> "In those days there was no king in Israel: every man did that which was right in his own eyes."—*Judges* xxi. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Chapter XVI.

<sup>3</sup> "Then all the elders of Israel gathered themselves together, and came to Samuel unto Ramah."—1 *Sam.* viii. 4.

of family interests and a common origin, by which these tribes, at an earlier period, had been connected? and was there generally any such bond?

Here certainly a religious element is conspicuous; for Jehovah, the ancestral god of the Hebrews, is represented as fighting for his faithful people<sup>1</sup>; and Chemosh, the god of the Moabites and Ammonites, also fights for his followers and gives them land to possess. But since accredited history only commences after the reigns of David and Solomon, we cannot depend with certainty on such testimony [as the book of Judges], and we are compelled first to have recourse to the remaining historical books, which were not composed until after the religious system of the nation had been completely developed. We may, however, here at once dispose of the objection put forward by Pustkuchen<sup>2</sup>, that it is utterly impossible for a monotheistic religion to subsist without the support of written records [by referring to the probable absence of early written documents in the Hebrew nation].

<sup>1</sup> "Wilt not thou possess that which Chemosh thy god giveth thee to possess? So whomsoever the Lord our God shall drive out from before us, them will we possess."—*Judges* xi. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Untersuchungen (Researches), p. 167.

## CHAPTER XIII.

RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT OF THE HEBREW NATION.  
ORIGINAL POLYTHEISM, AND SUBSEQUENT WORSHIP  
OF JEHOVAH.

IF we can find sufficient proof in the history of the Jews, that external circumstances (changing as they did in each successive period) must have powerfully contributed to impress the singular form of their national culture,—and if we are compelled, by the admissions of the history itself, to subscribe to the opinion of Jost<sup>1</sup>, that in almost every instance the first impulse to all their leading tendencies was given from without,—we shall be prepared to proceed, without prèjudice, to a closer examination of their religious system.

Analogy, beyond doubt, would lead us to infer, that the religious system must have passed through many successive steps of refinement, must have been modified by a great variety of foreign influences, and been gradually adapted to the circumstances of the nation by the seasonable ordinations of wise and inspired individuals, before it could become a ruling principle of action. In this examination, we shall take no further notice of that pious belief in a primæval wisdom and primæval monotheism so utterly destitute of all foundation in history, but shall

<sup>1</sup> Page 343.

follow the chronological order furnished by the books of the Old Testament. While the complete coincidence between these ancient portions of Hebrew literature and the general style of thought which prevails throughout the East, gives us the fullest assurance that we stand upon no uncertain ground, it justifies us in refusing all sanction to that narrow-minded doctrine which would attribute, in the case of the Jews, to the *special* plan of the Deity, that result which, according to the invariable laws of his providence, every nation is ordained to work out for itself, and which is necessarily determined by the external relations in which the people are successively placed.

There is one circumstance, of no small importance, which exercised a favourable influence on the religious development of the Hebrews, namely, that during their constant intercourse with the neighbouring nations, and while they were evidently inclined to adopt their superstitions, the people received their earliest admonitions from the mouths of their bards and sages, before an organized priesthood had worked its way to power. For if the whole control of a religion falls too early into the hands of the priests, and is imparted by them to the people, moulded into an established system, and guarded by set forms from every attempt at improvement, a time must certainly arrive (as the history of every nation shows,) when religion will burst her antiquated fetters, and adapt herself in a renovated form to the higher culture of the age: but the approach of this period will be proportionally retarded, wherever the hierarchy has entwined itself round the whole fabric of civil institutions, and penetrated into the recesses of social life. Everywhere, however, the sectarian spirit will begin by slow degrees to speculate on ancient dogmas; the ideas of other

nations will come into collision with those of native growth, until at length some gifted individual (often at the cost of great intellectual efforts) dares to break through the antiquated forms, and to call eternal truths into life. Many an empire, like the Egyptian, has fallen before it has arrived at this spiritual regeneration. Buddha among the Hindoos reformed the ancient Brahminism, Zoroaster among the Persians the worship of the Magi, and both diffused as much light as was possible in their age.

Among the lively Greeks the priesthood never struck so deep a root; the people remained therefore stationary, at nearly the same stage of religious culture which the Hebrews appear to have attained in the interval between David and the Babylonish captivity: this was the very period when the priesthood were striving to establish their authority, and were sometimes at variance both with the state and the prophets, occasionally uniting with them to effect the same ends, yet gradually increasing in their own power.

That the ancestral religion of the Israelites, like the general religion of the kindred tribes of Palestine, was a kind of rude polytheism, is admitted even by themselves, and this too in books which, if written in a more enlightened age, would assuredly have commenced with the stricter worship of Jehovah, had not the voice of history been so decidedly opposed to them. Household gods are mentioned even in the family of Abraham<sup>1</sup>; the book of Joshua ex-

<sup>1</sup> "And Laban went to shear his sheep: and Rachel had stolen the images that were her father's.....And now, though thou wouldest needs be gone, because thou sore longedst after thy father's house, yet wherefore hast thou stolen my gods?"—*Gen.* xxxi. 19, 30.

"Then Jacob said unto his household, and all that were with him, Put away the strange gods that are among you, and be clean, and change your garments."—*Gen.* xxxv. 2.

pressly states that polytheism had prevailed among the people at an earlier period in Mesopotamia and in Egypt<sup>1</sup>; and this polytheism, which down to the time of the Captivity never entirely disappeared, may still be traced in the plural form given to the name of the Deity, 'ēlohim. This has been admitted, not only by many of the Rabbins<sup>2</sup>, but also by Le Clerc, Gabler, Eichhorn, Herder, and Ewald<sup>3</sup>, and derives a striking confirmation from the fact, that in many cases, particularly when speaking of idolatry or holding intercourse with heathens, this name is employed with a plural verb and adjective<sup>4</sup>,—a sufficient proof that it was

<sup>1</sup> "Now therefore fear the Lord, and serve him in sincerity and in truth: and put away the gods which your fathers served on the other side of the flood, and in Egypt; and serve ye the Lord."—*Joshua* xxiv. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Talm. Tract. Berach. p. 113; Uebers. von Rabe, Sopher Cosri, p. 256; Ezard, Avoda Sara, p. 196.

<sup>3</sup> Krit. Gram. p. 641.

<sup>4</sup> "For God [Elohim] doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods [Elohim], knowing good and evil."—*Gen.* iii. 5.

"And it came to pass, when God [Elohim] caused me to wander from my father's house."—*Gen.* xx. 13.

"And he built there an altar, and called the place El-beth-el: because there God [Elohim] appeared unto him, when he fled from the face of his brother."—*Gen.* xxxv. 7.

"And when the people saw that Moses delayed to come down out of the mount, the people gathered themselves together unto Aaron, and said unto him, Up, make us gods [Elohim], which shall go before us; for as for this Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him.....And he received them [the golden earrings] at their hand, and fashioned it with a graving tool, after he had made it a molten calf: and they said, These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.....They have turned aside quickly out of the way which I commanded them: they have made them a molten calf, and have worshipped it, and have sacrificed thereunto, and said, These be thy gods, O Israel, which have brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.....For they said unto me, Make us gods, which shall go before us: for as for this Moses, the man that



originally understood to imply the plural number. The supposition, therefore, that this form was merely employed as a plural of majesty, will not meet the difficulty,—more especially as this was never adopted by the Hebrews with the far loftier name of Jehovah (except, perhaps, when speaking with his angels<sup>1</sup>). The singular 'el is used with any adjective to denote the Deity in the abstract<sup>2</sup>, and has possibly a figurative connexion with 'ajil, a ram, in the same way that the people were considered as sheep, *tso'n*<sup>3</sup>; as the participle of 'ul, it is related to 'alah, the verbal primitive adopted by the other branch of the Semitic nation. For as el [ʾΗΛ] is expressly mentioned as the name of Chronos among the Syrians and Phœnicians<sup>4</sup>, so ilah [Allah] has become the name of the Deity among the Arabs; so too ʾēloha, or its plural 'ēlohim, is used by the Hebrews to designate the gods of the heathen<sup>5</sup>. Moreover the word 'ēlohim is, taken

brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him."—*Exod.* xxxii. 1, 4, 8, 23.

"Woe unto us! who shall deliver us out of the hand of these mighty Gods [Elohim]? these are the Gods that smote the Egyptians with all the plagues in the wilderness."—1 *Sam.* iv. 8.

"And David spake to the men that stood by him, saying, What shall be done to the man that killeth this Philistine, and taketh away the reproach from Israel? for who is this uncircumcised Philistine, that he should defy the armies of the living God [Elohim]?"—1 *Sam.* xvii. 26.

"And what one nation in the earth is like thy people, even like Israel, whom God [Elohim] went to redeem for a people to himself, and to make him a name, and to do for you great things and terrible, for thy land, before thy people, which thou redeemedst to thee from Egypt, from the nations and their gods?"—2 *Sam.* vii. 23.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Gen. xxi. 17. (?)

<sup>2</sup> See Ewald, *Compos. der Genes.*, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> See Hitzig on Isaiah, ix. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Photius, p. 343, Bekk.

<sup>5</sup> "Because that they have forsaken me, and have worshipped Ash-

in its literal sense, the aggregate of the divine powers, which were at first regarded as separate existences, but gradually came to be considered by the Hebrews, when their conceptions grew more elevated, as the collective essence of the universal Deity: this was the meaning it ever after retained, though the plural form in use among the neighbouring nations is still, in many cases, inadvertently employed even by their later writers<sup>1</sup>. The singular form now became poetical, as in Job; and other plurals were adopted, not only for the Deity, as *k'ôdashim*, but even for earthly rulers, as *'âdonim*<sup>2</sup>: this latter name has become so completely the recognized form for the Divinity, that even in cases where, in conformity with the ancient construction of *'âdonai 'êlohim* (my lords Gods), we should expect to find *'âdonai Jehovah*, the vowel points of *'êlohim* are substituted for those usually employed with *Jehovah*<sup>3</sup>, because, according to a later theory, *'âdonai* was considered as Unity, and its vowels were transferred to *Jehovah*<sup>4</sup>. The distinc-

toeth the goddess of the Zidonians, Chemosh the god of the Moabites, and Milcom the god of the children of Ammon, and have not walked in my ways, to do that which is right in mine eyes, and to keep my statutes and my judgments, as did David his father."—1 *Kings* xi. 33.

"And Ahaziah fell down through a lattice in his upper chamber that was in Samaria, and was sick: and he sent messengers, and said unto them, Go, inquire of Baal-zebul the god of Ekron whether I shall recover of this disease."—2 *Kings* i. 2.

"But in his estate shall he honour the god of forces: and a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honour with gold, and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things."—*Dan*. xi. 38.

<sup>1</sup> See Hartmann, *Pent.* p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> "Abraham his master [*adonai*]."—*Gen.* xxiv. 9, and elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> [The vowel points usually employed with *Jehovah* are not those which originally belonged to it, but those of *adonai*, except that a simple *sheva* (:) is placed under the J.]

<sup>4</sup> See Ewald, *Krit. Gram.* p. 299. *Composit.* p. 34. [as in *Gen.* xv. 2.]

tion laid down by Köster<sup>1</sup>, according to which 'Elohim with the article is used to signify the true God or the Gods worshiped in their proper persons (*oi theoi*), and without the article to mean the higher powers in general (*theoi*), will by no means admit of proof<sup>2</sup>.

How early, or how late, the Hebrews acknowledged the Jehovah of their theocracy, and the national poets and authors adopted a purer spiritualism, it is impossible precisely to determine, on account of the confused character of their literature. In this particular even the Pentateuch, the grand foundation of their whole constitution, is glaringly inconsistent. We are bound to state its contradictions, and as far as possible to reconcile them with each other; but, in order to trace the further progress of the popular faith, we must have recourse to genuine history.

According to the book of Genesis, the world was created by the Elohim, inasmuch as the poetical narrative (to say nothing of the foreign dress of the whole cosmogony) would have forfeited all claim to belief had such a work been ascribed to the Deity of the nation. But the unity of the Deity is nevertheless implied, and the conceptions of his nature, though still very childlike in their character, have already acquired that higher elevation to which the advanced culture of the narrator and the patriarchal age which he describes must have necessarily given birth. At one time the Supreme Being is Almighty, the Lord of heaven and earth; at another time these conceptions are

<sup>1</sup> Erläuter. (Elucidation), p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> The comparison between the Elohim and the Amshaspands, Cabiri and Titans, is also totally devoid of foundation in history; the same may be said of the interpretation which explains the Elohim as primeval patriarchs. Hüllmann, Staatsverf. der Israel (Israel. Constitution), p. 28, &c.

lowered, and contract in place of enlarging; the Supreme Being is represented as partial and jealous, he has all the weakness of his creatures, and appears as little more than the family deity of the patriarchs, with all the human imperfections of that rude and early age. These apparent contradictions, however, find a simple explanation in the fact that these writings belong to two totally distinct periods,—to the time of the narrator, and to that remoter age which he is endeavouring to describe, but which he often inadvertently invests with the views and feelings peculiar to his own. It has indeed been suggested, that a guardian deity, chosen by Abraham for himself and his tribe from among the gods of his family, may have gradually risen from a patriarchal to a universal deity, and that the first step of this progress may have consisted in the rejection of all visible objects of worship; but even supposing that this theory could be reconciled with the known polytheism of a later period, still the selection of a family deity from the whole assemblage of supernatural powers is not to be rated too highly. The wandering life of a pastoral people is sufficient in itself to prevent an attachment to any fixed form of Fetichism; and to prove that a purer religion is not always inconsistent with barbarism, we need only allude to the *Great Spirit* of the American Indians<sup>1</sup>, and the spiritual worship of the Phœnician Hercules. It must also be remembered, that little or nothing is said of the existence of idols among many other of the Canaanitish tribes. The book of Genesis, moreover, leaves us to infer that Melchizedek king of Salem also acknowledged a supreme ruler of the

<sup>1</sup> See Heckewälder, *Indian. Völkerschaften* (Ind. Nations), p. 111.

universe<sup>1</sup>; that Abimelech of Gerar worshiped one God<sup>2</sup>, and so far therefore it raises these native kings to the same level with Abraham himself. The most decisive circumstance however is, that the Pentateuch uniformly refers the first knowledge of Jehovah to Moses, while the patriarchs, we are told, only knew him as the "Mighty Power," *'el shaddai*, and the very name of Jehovah was concealed from them<sup>3</sup>; hence a new light is thrown on the whole book of Genesis, inasmuch as it actually anticipates this name in the same way as it assigns an earlier origin to circumcision<sup>4</sup> and other observances. Even Jahn can only solve this difficulty by supposing that *Jehovah* has been substituted for some other and more ancient name of the Deity, which had ceased to be generally intelligible.

The Pentateuch can no better conceal, than the books which immediately succeed it, that Jehovah was at first merely the national Deity of the Israelites. Cain is afraid to dwell in a land where "Jehovah is not;" the Deity "goes down" with his people into Egypt, and appears there to his chosen servants<sup>5</sup>. He is constantly spoken of as "the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob," or "the God of the Hebrews;" they are forbidden to have any gods beside

<sup>1</sup> "And Melchizedek king of Salem brought forth bread and wine: and he was the priest of the most high God."—*Gen.* xiv. 18.

<sup>2</sup> [*Gen.* xxvi. 28. "Jehovah was with thee."]

<sup>3</sup> "And I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by the name of God Almighty, but by my name JEHOVAH was I not known to them."—*Exod.* vi. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Gen.* xvii. 10, compared with *Lev.* xii. 3.

<sup>5</sup> "And they shall hearken to thy voice: and thou shalt come, thou and the elders of Israel, unto the king of Egypt, and ye shall say unto him, The Lord God of the Hebrews hath met with us: and now let us go, we beseech thee, three days' journey into the wilderness, that we may sacrifice to the Lord our God."—*Exod.* iii. 18.

him<sup>1</sup>, and Jehovah is represented as holding such other gods to be similar to himself, although he eventually subdues them, and (as every nation believes of its tutelary deity) he is more powerful than they<sup>2</sup>. Such, it is evident, cannot be termed a pure monotheism, and assertions like that of Werner<sup>3</sup>, "If all else be denied to Moses, his pure monotheism must still be left to him," will require no further notice<sup>4</sup>. Although, therefore, we have found that the earliest worship of Jehovah is clearly referred by the Pentateuch to Moses, we have still made but little progress towards the discovery of the truth; we only know that these mythical books expressly deny its earlier existence [under that name]<sup>5</sup>, and we must therefore have recourse to the other Hebrew writings for further information concerning the worship of the national Deity.

<sup>1</sup> "I am the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage."—*Exod.* xx. 2.

<sup>2</sup> "For I will pass through the land of Egypt this night, and will smite all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, both man and beast; and against all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgment: I am the Lord."—*Exod.* xii. 12.

"Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods? who is like thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?"—*Exod.* xv. 11.

"Now I know that the Lord is greater than all gods: for in the thing wherein they dealt proudly he was above them."—*Exod.* xviii. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Ueber die vier erst. Kap. der Genesis (On the first four Chapters of Genesis), p. 80.

<sup>4</sup> [The commencement of a pure monotheism may however be observed in the limited ideas of the one Deity of a favoured family and nation, which are represented in the Hebrew scriptures, among the characteristics of the early ages of their national progress. More comprehensive views of the infinite almighty, eternal and universal power of Deity are subsequently unfolded, when the sages, the priests, and the poets of the Hebrews become themselves more enlightened.]

<sup>5</sup> [See *Exod.* vi. 3. "By my name Jehovah was I not known unto them,"—Abraham, Isaac and Jacob."]

It can scarcely be doubted that the book of Judges is founded on actual tradition ; but at the same time the low degree of culture, the political anarchy, and the rude spirit of the age it describes, are utterly inconsistent with the regular centralization of a theocratical government. The worship of Jehovah is certainly implied, and every external calamity is regarded as the punishment of disobedience to his laws ; but this, we must remember, is a common characteristic of the whole body of Hebrew literature, and this book of the Judges was not written, as can be proved, till the time of the Kings, at a period when the worship of Jehovah had already found supporters. Moreover, it is admitted that idols were openly worshiped during the whole of this period [or at least during a large portion of it]<sup>1</sup>, so that we are fully justified in denying all weight to any such ambiguous evidence, and we can admit no conclusive proof of the worship of Jehovah anterior to the ancient hymns of David. Down to the time of David everything in relation to this subject is involved in obscurity, and every successive writer derives his pictures of a bygone age from that in which he happened to live.

<sup>1</sup> "And they forsook the Lord God of their fathers, which brought them out of the land of Egypt, and followed other gods, of the gods of the people that were round about them, and bowed themselves unto them, and provoked the Lord to anger. And they forsook the Lord, and served Baal and Ashtaroth."—*Judges* ii. 12, 13.

"And it came to pass, as soon as Gideon was dead, that the children of Israel turned again, and went a whoring after Baalim, and made Baal-berith their god."—*Judges* viii. 33.

"And the children of Israel did evil again in the sight of the Lord, and served Baalim, and Ashtaroth, and the gods of Syria, and the gods of Zidon, and the gods of Moab, and the gods of the children of Ammon, and the gods of the Philistines, and forsook the Lord, and served not him."—*Judges* x. 6.

See also ch. x. 18, and elsewhere.

Another circumstance which deserves to be mentioned in this place is, that the very name of Jehovah (on which so much has been written) is, beyond all doubt, not Semitic in its origin. That the present orthography is not correct, is a fact as generally admitted as the loss of the ancient laws of Hebrew pronunciation; since the Masora, in foreign names, merely gave the vowel sounds<sup>1</sup> which happened to prevail at that day, as Kopp has abundantly proved<sup>2</sup>. The different modes in which Jehovah was pronounced by the ancient Jews<sup>3</sup> and the Christian fathers have been collected by Bellermann<sup>4</sup>, Kopp<sup>5</sup> and Hartmann<sup>6</sup>: these were *Jave* among the Samaritans<sup>7</sup>, *Jaho*, and most commonly *Jao* (*Iao*), as it appears in proper names commencing with *Jeho*-, which is that which Bellermann and Hartmann are inclined to adopt. Thus too it was written on the Abraxas<sup>8</sup> gems, which from their sacred character present the most trustworthy evidence<sup>9</sup>; and thus it was applied to Dionysos<sup>10</sup> and also to the Sun. In this shape it is clearly connected with the names of the Deity in many other languages,—with the Greek *Διὸς*, the Latin *Jovis*, and

<sup>1</sup> [Previously to the introduction of vowel points (after 700 A.D.) these sounds were supplied by the reader.]

<sup>2</sup> Palæogr. Crit. iii. 530.

<sup>3</sup> Diodor. i. 94. Strabo, p. 762.

<sup>4</sup> Abraxas-gemmen, ii.

<sup>5</sup> Palæogr. Crit., p. 310.

<sup>6</sup> Untersuchungen über den Pentat. (Researches, &c.) p. 148.

<sup>7</sup> This would have been  $\text{יהוה}$  of the 2nd mood from  $\text{יהו}$ . See Ewald, Short Gram., § 228. Hitzig on Isaiah, i. 2.

<sup>8</sup> [The name given to gems on which these or other cabalistic letters were engraved. They have been mostly found in Egypt and Asia, are supposed to date from the third or fourth century A.D., and to have been used as amulets or talismans.]

<sup>9</sup> See Kopp, p. 556. &c.

<sup>10</sup> [The Greek name of Bacchus.] Macrob. Saturn. i. 18.



the Sanscrit *devas*, *devo*<sup>1</sup>,—and the original form would be *Jah*, which frequently occurs in Hebrew poetry. In Exod. iii. 14, the name Jehovah is derived from the root *hayaḥ*, 'to be'<sup>2</sup>; but *havaḥ*, in this instance (as is also the case in the etymology of Eve), is only borrowed from a dialect, and any transposition of the vowels we may choose to adopt must as signally fail in concealing its foreign origin as the Jewish substitution of those belonging to *Adonai*<sup>3</sup>. This transposition of the vowels, moreover, was not made until after the name of the Deity had been declared to be secret and unutterable, and is first to be found in Philo and the Rabbins, who exclude from eternal happiness whoever shall dare to pronounce it<sup>4</sup>. The original motive for this sacred mystery was the fear that hostile priests might banish the national deity<sup>5</sup>.

The derivation in Exodus is, however, in complete accordance with the general practice of the Pentateuch in the explanation of names; for in this case the Deity himself is represented as supplying the interpretation of his title, but that interpretation is evidently adapted to the conceptions of a much later period; and, as De Wette<sup>6</sup>, Bellermann and Hartmann<sup>7</sup> have very justly observed, it is of much too abstract a nature for the national deity of a very early

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Διαμουννα* among the ancients for *Yamund*.

<sup>2</sup> 'ehējeh 'āšer 'ehējeh, 'I am that I am:' *ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὢν*, LXX. 'Sum qui sum,' Vulg.

<sup>3</sup> The learning of Tholuck has done little to remove this difficulty in the Literar. Anzeiger, 1832, No. 28.

<sup>4</sup> See Philo. Vit. Mosis, iii. 519, and Hartmann in Schwarz, Jahrb. der Theologie, 1825, p. 321.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Macrobius, Sat. iii. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Krit. ii. 182.

<sup>7</sup> Researches, p. 148.

period. It was reserved for after-bards and prophets to give this extension to his character, in the same manner as *Svayambhū*, 'the Self-existent,' and other names of the same kind among the Hindoos, are known to date their origin from the philosophical speculations of comparatively recent times.

Whence the Hebrews have derived the name of Jehovah we cannot pretend to determine; a large number of the learned have decided in favour of Egypt, and their opinion would certainly appear to gain some support from the fact that Pharaoh changed the name *Eliakim* (God will upraise) into *Jehoiakim* (Jehovah will upraise)<sup>1</sup>, and more especially as the reigns of David and Solomon, from which the worship of Jehovah, together with the rise of the priesthood, date their first appearance in history, would seem to have been peculiarly favourable to its introduction. The court of Jehovah, if we may be allowed the expression, is an evident copy from the household of a prince, and such as could only have been drawn at a period of regal splendour: he conceals himself in his Holy of holies like an eastern monarch; like him, he has his messengers, who stand before him as his ministers; incense is burnt in his presence, he is jealous of other gods, and none dare appear before him without an offering<sup>2</sup>. It may be observed too,—1st, that the older proper names terminating in *el*, as Israel, Samuel, &c., become less and less common at and after the time of

<sup>1</sup> "And Pharaoh-nechoh made Eliakim the son of Josiah king in the room of Josiah his father, and turned his name to Jehoiakim, and took Jehoahaz away: and he came to Egypt, and died there."—*2 Kings* xxiii. 34.

<sup>2</sup> "None shall appear before me empty."—*Exod.* xxiii. 15.

"All the firstborn of thy sons thou shalt redeem. And none shall appear before me empty."—*Exod.* xxxiv. 20, and elsewhere.

David; while those, on the contrary, which commence with *Jeho*, as Jehonathan, then first came into use<sup>1</sup>; 2ndly, that more ancient modes of speech, such as forms of swearing<sup>2</sup> and proverbial expressions, still retain in general the name *Elohim*<sup>3</sup>; and 3rdly, that in the so-called Psalms of Korah, *Elohim* is still almost exclusively used as the name of the Deity. Even those who are inclined, with Hartmann, to suppose that the name Jehovah was borrowed from the Phœnicians (which appears, however, less probable), must still abide by the date he has assigned, because no reasons can be found for a higher. "This name," he observes, "can only have been introduced into the religious phraseology of the Israelites, at the very earliest, in the reign of David<sup>4</sup>." From this time downwards, the character of the Deity of the nation, as represented by the national poets, rises perceptibly in grandeur; the lyric hymns and the writings of the prophets are all inspired with the wisdom, goodness and justice of Jehovah, and stand on other points in complete and happy contrast with the more Levitical Pentateuch: "they divest their Jehovah of the narrow nationality of his character, and at times extend his sway even to other nations<sup>5</sup>;" they desire to see him worshiped, not by outward sacrifice, but by inward purity of heart; they no longer represent him as crafty, deceitful, cruel and revengeful, whenever his rites and ceremonies were infringed or neglected, but they place before us such a picture of religion as it is reserved for the sages of all nations to draw, and such as, according to

<sup>1</sup> *Jehoshu'a* is known to be another form of *Hoshé'a*.

<sup>2</sup> See Ewald, *Compos.* p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> See note on Genesis xxx. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Pages 152, 157.

<sup>5</sup> Hitzig, *Introduction to Isaiah*, p. xxii.

Köster<sup>1</sup>, may be traced even in Homer and the poets of Greece. This latter author, too, very justly observes, that if we knew more of the *popular* belief of the Hebrews, and if Homer, on the other hand, had expressly presented to us the religion of the *sages* of his day, the resemblance between them would have probably been much greater than it now appears<sup>2</sup>. Thus the historical development of the religion of the Hebrews is found to be parallel in every point [or rather in some important points] with that of other nations,—to be, in short, that of human nature itself.

<sup>1</sup> Erläuterungen (Elucidation), p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Alt. Indien, (Ancient India) i. 151, &c.

## CHAPTER XIV.

POPULAR WORSHIP.—THE ARK.—HOLY PLACES AND  
TABERNACLE.

THE voice of history is conclusive evidence to the fact that the religious progress of the Hebrews precisely resembled that of the other nations of antiquity, that their poets and sages had arrived at the most perfect conceptions of the Deity, while the mass of the people, from want of sufficient instruction, still clung to polytheism and idolatry, and were totally unable to rise to their purer and more elevated views. "All the historical and prophetic writings," to quote the words of Hartmann, "prove that, from the migration into Palestine, down to the exile at the Babylonish captivity, the worship of one only God never penetrated the mass of the people, but was merely preached by a constant succession of prophets and priests,—and that, in its utmost purity, it was scarcely perhaps comprehended even by the few more spiritual and enlightened individuals."

The received opinion, derived wholly and solely from the Pentateuch, that the Israelites were continually falling back into idolatry, is utterly unfounded and erroneous. It would appear, on the contrary, that it was only by the exertions of a few pious princes that they were slowly weaned from the abominations, which they never entirely relinquished until after the Babylonish exile. A sceptical

spirit had already begun to make great progress among their sages, particularly towards the close of this period<sup>1</sup>; the result of experience appeared to them at variance with the justice of the Deity, and no doctrine of immortality had as yet taught them to look for a compensation in the future. Hence the prophets so frequently complain, that even the most orthodox among their contemporaries had little genuine piety, and that they worshiped God more in sacrifices than in spirit<sup>2</sup>. From these complaints we must infer, that a ceremonial service was at this time everywhere prevalent, and that no pure conceptions of morality had yet found admittance among the people. And how, we may ask, could it be otherwise? The people lived among kindred tribes addicted to the worship of nature in all its various gradations, and it was manifestly impossible that a single sanctuary could satisfy the religious wants of the whole Jewish nation, even supposing that the temple at Jerusalem had been dedicated to a purer worship. It is, however, openly confessed that its very founder, Solomon, erected private

<sup>1</sup> Compare Psalm lxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Isaiah lviii. 2, &c.; lxvi. 3, &c. Compare also the following passages:—

“Your burnt offerings are not acceptable, nor your sacrifices sweet unto me.”—*Jerem.* vi. 20.

“Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Put your burnt offerings unto your sacrifices, and eat flesh. [For I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices; but this thing commanded I them, saying, Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people; and walk ye in all the ways that I have commanded you, that it may be well unto you.]”—*Jerem.* vii. 21, 22, 23.

“For I desired mercy and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings.”—*Hosea* vi. 6.

See also Amos v. 21 &c.; and Micah vi. 6, &c.

altars [in his old-age] to the gods of the Sidonians, the Ammonites, and the Moabites<sup>1</sup>; and that sacred groves, with a simple but organized system of sacrificial worship (as is implied in the book of Genesis<sup>2</sup>), were scattered over the land from the most ancient times<sup>3</sup> until the reformation of Josiah<sup>4</sup>. It was only, we are told, the last-named king who finally abolished the whole of this system, nay who banished the vessels of Baal from *the House of Jehovah* himself<sup>5</sup>, and brake down the tents of the prostitutes that were

<sup>1</sup> "For Solomon went after Ashtoreth the goddess of the Zidonians, and after Milcom the abomination of the Ammonites. And Solomon did evil in the sight of the Lord, and went not fully after the Lord, as did David his father. Then did Solomon build an high place for Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, in the hill that is before Jerusalem, and for Moloch, the abomination of the children of Ammon."—1 *Kings* xi. 5-7.

<sup>2</sup> "And the Lord appeared unto Abram, and said, Unto thy seed will I give this land: and there builded he an altar unto the Lord, who appeared unto him."—*Gen.* xii. 7.

"And Melchizedek king of Salem brought forth bread and wine: and he was the priest of the most high God."—*Gen.* xiv. 18.

"And Abraham planted a grove in Beer-sheba, and called there on the name of the Lord, the everlasting God."—*Gen.* xxi. 33.

<sup>3</sup> "Only the people sacrificed in high places, because there was no house built unto the name of the Lord, until those days."—1 *Kings* iii. 2.

"For they also built them high places, and images, and groves, on every high hill, and under every green tree."—1 *Kings* xiv. 23.

<sup>4</sup> [See also 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3. &c.] See De Wette, i. 250. Winer's Dictionary of the Bible, art. *Höhen* (high places).

<sup>5</sup> "And the king commanded Hilkiah the high priest, and the priests of the second order, and the keepers of the door, to bring forth *out of the temple of the Lord* all the vessels that were made for Baal, and for the grove, and for all the host of heaven: and he burned them without Jerusalem in the fields of Kidron, and carried the ashes of them unto Beth-el.....And he brought out the grove *from the house of the Lord*, without Jerusalem, unto the brook Kidron, and stamped it small to powder, and cast the powder thereof upon the graves of the children of the people."—2 *Kings* xxiii. 4, 6. Here the words *mibbeith* and *me-heikal* are used for *Jehovah*.

*beside it.* The most prevalent idolatry, and that of which the Books of Kings supply the proofs in every page, was the worship of Belus and Astarte. The former represented in his original character the creative power of the Sun, and for this reason a chariot with white horses was dedicated to him<sup>1</sup>. He is the same as the Phœnician Hercules, whose worship extended from India over Assyria and Phœnicia, and as far as the pillars of Hercules. He was adored, under a different form, by every tribe in Canaan, and has been supposed, in accordance with the astrological practice of allying and confounding the gods of different nations, to be identical also with Jupiter<sup>2</sup>. His name, BALAS, 'The Strong,' is found in the original form *bel*, and was changed by the Semitic nations into ba'al, or 'lord.' The Moabites named him the 'god of the opening' (*ba'al pē'or*), for among them he was the god of licentiousness, in whose temples virgins lost their title to the name.

Under this licentious character Baal was also worshiped even by the Hebrews<sup>3</sup>. Next to him stood Astarte, the female principle of nature, and the principal divinity of the Chaldæans and Phœnicians<sup>4</sup>: originally she represented the

<sup>1</sup> "And he put down the idolatrous priests, whom the kings of Judah had ordained to burn incense in the high places in the cities of Judah, and in the places round about Jerusalem; them also that burned incense unto Baal, to the sun, and to the moon, and to the planets, and to all the host of heaven."—*2 Kings* xxiii. 5. *Ba'al shemesh*. Compare verse 11. ["He took away the horses that the kings of Judah had given to the Sun,"] and Herodot. i, 189.

<sup>2</sup> See Gesenius, *Encycl.*, art. *Bel*, and his *Excurs.* on *Isaiah*.

<sup>3</sup> "And Israel joined himself unto Baalpeor: and the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel."—*Num.* xxv. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Compare the following verses:—

"Then the children of Israel did put away Baalim and Ashtaroth, and served the Lord only."—*1 Samuel* vii. 4.

"For Solomon went after Ashtoreth the goddess of the Zidonians,



Moon, but (by a similar transition) was justly considered by the ancients as the Eastern representative of Venus, on account of the licentiousness of her worship. She was represented with the head of an ox surmounted with horns (hence the city of Astaroth Carnaim in Batanæa, Deut. i. 4), and was worshiped in sacred groves (*'āšherah*), where, under tents and huts formed of the branches of trees, (*succoth bēnoth*), 'huts of the daughters'<sup>1</sup>, virgins were accustomed to abandon themselves to the pleasures of her priests<sup>2</sup>; such was the practice also among the Babylonians and Carthaginians<sup>3</sup>. The Hebrew writings are loud in their denunciation of these licentious superstitions; but the depth to which the worship of Astarte had taken root among the people may be inferred from the fact, that their very language designates a prostitute by the name of a holy woman (*kadeshah*)<sup>4</sup>; nay the brazen laver of the priests is said to have been cast from the mirrors of the women that served before the door of the tabernacle<sup>5</sup>. We find evidence of

and after Milcom the abomination of the Ammonites."—1 *Kings* xi. 5.

"Now therefore send, and gather to me all Israel unto mount Carmel, and the prophets of Baal four hundred and fifty, and the prophets of the groves four hundred, which eat at Jezebel's table."—1 *Kings* xviii. 19.

"Thy graven images also will I cut off, and thy standing images out of the midst of thee; and thou shalt no more worship the work of thine hands."—*Micah* v. 13.

<sup>1</sup> "And the men of Babylon made Succoth-benoth, and the men of Cuth made Nergal, and the men of Hamath made Ashima."—2 *Kings* xvii. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Respecting the profligacy of the people compare 1 *Kings* xiv. 24; xv. 12; xxii. 46; Baruch vi. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. i. 199; Valer. Maxim. ii. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Deut. xxiii. 18.

<sup>5</sup> "And he made the laver of brass, and the foot of it of brass, of the looking-glasses of the women assembling, which assembled at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation."—*Exod.* xxxviii. 8.

the worship of goats<sup>1</sup> [in the received text 'devils'], of the Phœnician Adonis Tammuz<sup>2</sup>, of Saturn<sup>3</sup>, of idols of stone<sup>4</sup>, and the household gods or Teraphim<sup>5</sup>, which were retained to the latest period. These latter are even included by Hosea<sup>6</sup> among the sacred vessels of the sanctuary,—a singular proof how things of this description may gradually acquire a sanction from time. In the same class we may place the worship of the serpent, which Hezekiah, it would seem, could not succeed in repressing<sup>7</sup>; for the myth, as a last resource, is compelled to refer it to Moses<sup>8</sup>, in the same manner as it had ascribed to his brother (the future priest Aaron) the worship of the Egyptian Apis<sup>9</sup>. Such

<sup>1</sup> "And they shall no more offer their sacrifices unto devils."—*Lev.* xvii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> "Then he brought me to the door of the gate of the Lord's house which was toward the north; and, behold, there sat women weeping for Tammuz."—*Ezek.* viii. 14.

<sup>3</sup> "But ye have borne the tabernacle of your Moloch and Chiun your images, the star of your god, which ye made to yourselves."—*Amos* v. 26.

<sup>4</sup> See observations on *Gen.* xxviii. 18.

<sup>5</sup> See observations on *Gen.* xxxi. 19. "Rachel had stolen the images that were her father's."

<sup>6</sup> "For the children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without teraphim."—*Hosea* iii. 4.

<sup>7</sup> "He removed the high places, and brake the images, and cut down the groves, and brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made: for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it: and he called it Nehushtan."—*2 Kings* xviii. 4.

<sup>8</sup> "And the Lord said unto Moses, Make thee a fiery serpent, and set it upon a pole: and it shall come to pass, that every one that is bitten, when he looketh upon it, shall live."—*Num.* xxi. 8. Compare *De Wette, Kritik*, ii. 361.

<sup>9</sup> *Exod.* xxxii. Compare the following verse:—

"Whereupon the king took counsel, and made two calves of gold, and said unto them, It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem: behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt."—*1 Kings* xii. 28.

statements, if well founded, would, it is manifest, throw considerable doubt on the pure worship of Jehovah in that early period, for the golden calf cannot possibly have been intended as a representation of Jehovah, as Bertholdt would wish us to believe<sup>1</sup>. The startling announcement that the tribe of Levi had slain 3000 of the people on account of this idolatry<sup>2</sup>, is evidently intended as a warning to contemporaries, and is perhaps the most remarkable feature in this fiction; its real character is, however, sufficiently apparent in its description of the burning of this image, which had been cast in *solid gold* from the ornaments of the people. Rosenmüller suggests some chemical process for this operation, and Stahl has discovered, after the most elaborate investigation, that it might have been effected by soda<sup>3</sup>.

But we must also remember the gross system of sacrifices in the worship of Jehovah himself, the soothsayers and magicians, the circumcision, the prophecies, and the sacred decision by lot; and taking all these into consideration, we are constrained to admit, that the Hebrews stood precisely on a level with the nations that surrounded them, and that we can only in a very limited sense speak of the monotheism even of the few poets and sages who from time to time appeared among the people. Nay, if a polytheistic people deserve in general to be designated as *heathens*, the

<sup>1</sup> "But hast done evil above all that were before thee: for thou hast gone and made thee other gods, and molten images, to provoke me to anger, and hast cast me behind thy back."—1 *Kings* xiv. 9.

<sup>2</sup> "And the children of Levi did according to the word of Moses: and there fell of the people that day about three thousand men."—*Exod.* xxxii. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Goguet thinks this very satisfactory, and informs us that the mixture would have a very strong taste of rotten eggs.

Israelites are certainly well entitled to the name, more especially when compared with the ancient Persians, by whom all idols were held in abomination.

The sketch we have drawn, slight as it is, throws a strong light on the character of the Pentateuch: the abominations already mentioned are expressly proscribed by its purer spirit; in it, and in it *only*, the worship of idols is threatened with stoning and death<sup>1</sup>; in it *only*, the Israelites are charged to suffer no images in their land<sup>2</sup>; and *only* in it and in the Chronicles are they commanded to destroy the idols of other nations in their expeditions<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> "He that sacrificeth unto any god, save unto the Lord only, he shall be utterly destroyed."—*Exod.* xxii. 20.

"If there he found among you, within any of thy gates which the Lord thy God giveth thee, man or woman, that hath wrought wickedness in the sight of the Lord thy God, in transgressing his covenant, and hath gone and served other gods, and worshipped them, either the sun, or moon, or any of the host of heaven, which I have not commanded; and it be told thee, and thou hast heard of it, and enquired diligently, and, behold, it be true, and the thing certain, that such abomination is wrought in Israel: then shalt thou bring forth that man or that woman which have committed that wicked thing, unto thy gates, even that man or that woman, and shalt stone them with stones, till they die."—*Deut.* xvii. 2—5.

<sup>2</sup> "They shall not dwell in thy land, lest they make thee sin against me: for if thou serve their gods, it will surely be a snare unto thee."—*Exod.* xxiii. 33.

"But thou shalt utterly destroy them; namely, the Hittites, and the Amorites, the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites; as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee: that they teach you not to do after all their abominations, which they have done unto their gods; so should ye sin against the Lord your God."—*Deut.* xx. 17, 18.

<sup>3</sup> "Thou shalt not bow down to their gods, nor serve them, nor do after their works: but thou shalt utterly overthrow them, and quite break down their images."—*Exod.* xxiii. 24.

"But thus shall ye deal with them; ye shall destroy their altars, and

Nevertheless we are required to believe that these purer laws were a part of the original constitution and genuine enactments of Moses, and hence we are expected to assume, that idolatry *regained* its ascendancy towards the time of the Babylonish captivity; whereas, in point of fact, notwithstanding the efforts of the more enlightened princes, it had, down to this time, never been entirely suppressed; and it was only at this very period that the minds of men were becoming more alive to its enormities, so that the complaints of contemporary writers correspond in every point with these prohibitions of the Pentateuch<sup>1</sup>.

break down their images, and cut down their groves, and burn their graven images with fire."—*Deut.* vii. 5.

"And when they had left their gods there, David gave a commandment, and they were burned with fire."—*1 Chron.* xiv. 12.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the following verses :—

"So I went in and saw; and behold every form of creeping things, and abominable beasts, and all the idols of the house of Israel, portrayed upon the wall round about."—*Ezekiel* viii. 10.

"As for the beauty of his ornament, he set it in majesty: but they made the images of their abominations and of their detestable things therein: therefore have I set it far from them."—*Ezekiel* vii. 20.

"But thou didst trust in thine own beauty, and playedst the harlot because of thy renown, and pouredst out thy fornications on every one that passed by."—*Ezekiel* xvi. 15.

"That they have committed adultery, and blood is in their hands, and with their idols have they committed adultery, and have also caused their sons, whom they bare unto me, to pass for them through the fire, to devour them."—*Ezekiel* xxiii. 37.

"For of old time I have broken thy yoke, and burst thy bands; and thou saidst, I will not transgress; when upon every high hill and under every green tree thou wanderest, playing the harlot."—*Jerem.* ii. 20.

"The Lord said also unto me in the days of Josiah the king, Hast thou seen that which backsliding Israel hath done? she is gone up upon every high mountain and under every green tree, and there hath played the harlot."—*Jerem.* iii. 6.

"How shall I pardon thee for this? thy children have forsaken me,

Human sacrifices cannot well be disclaimed by the Hebrews, and Michaelis himself does not deny their existence<sup>1</sup>. The firstborn were to belong in all strictness to Jehovah<sup>2</sup>, and in Egypt he exercised his rights; while the Israelites, by a special compact, were allowed to redeem their offspring<sup>3</sup>, some vestige of which ransom remains

and sworn by them that are no gods: when I had fed them to the full, they then committed adultery, and assembled themselves by troops in the harlots' houses."—*Jerem.* v. 7.

"Seest thou not what they do in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem? And they have built the high places of Tophet, which is in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire; which I commanded them not, neither came it into my heart."—*Jerem.* vii. 17, 31.

"They have built also the high places of Baal, to burn their sons with fire for burnt offerings unto Baal, which I commanded not, nor spake it, neither came it into my mind.....And the houses of Jerusalem, and the houses of the kings of Judah, shall be defiled as the place of Tophet, because of all the houses upon whose roofs they have burned incense unto all the host of heaven, and have poured out drink offerings unto other gods."—*Jerem.* xix. 5, 13.

"I will also stretch out mine hand upon Judah, and upon all the inhabitants of Jerusalem; and I will cut off the remnant of Baal from this place, and the name of the Chemarims with the priests."—*Zeph.* i. 4. and other places.

<sup>1</sup> Law of Moses, V. 115.

<sup>2</sup> "Because all the firstborn are mine; for on the day that I smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt I hallowed unto me all the firstborn in Israel, both man and beast."—*Numb.* iii. 13.

<sup>3</sup> "And it shall be when the Lord shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanites, as he sware unto thee and to thy fathers, and shall give it thee, that thou shalt set apart unto the Lord all that openeth the matrix, and every firstling that cometh of a beast which thou hast; the males shall be the Lord's."—*Exod.* xiii. 11, 12.

"Every thing devoted in Israel shall be thine. Every thing that openeth the matrix in all flesh, which they bring unto the Lord, whether it be of men or beasts, shall be thine: nevertheless the firstborn of man shalt thou surely redeem, and the firstling of unclean beasts shalt thou redeem."—*Numb.* xviii. 14, 15.

even to the present day<sup>1</sup>. To the same class belong the human sacrifices which were offered in performance of vows<sup>2</sup>, particularly those of Jephthah's daughter<sup>3</sup>, and of the seven descendants of Saul, whom the Gibeonites, while allied with the Hebrews, hung up as an atonement *before Jehovah*<sup>4</sup>. Still more to the point is the offering by Abraham<sup>5</sup>, which the most ingenious interpreters have laboured in vain to

<sup>1</sup> See Bodenschatz, Kirchl. Verfass. der Juden (Eccles. Constitution of the Jews), iv. 81.

<sup>2</sup> "And we took all his cities at that time, and utterly destroyed the men, and the women, and the little ones, of every city, we left none to remain."—*Deut.* ii. 34.

"Therefore it shall be, when the Lord thy God hath given thee rest from all thine enemies round about, in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee for an inheritance to possess it, that thou shalt blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven; thou shalt not forget it."—*Deut.* xxv. 19.

"He that is taken with the accursed thing shall be burnt with fire."—*Joshua* vii. 15.

"And the children of Israel said, Who is there among all the tribes of Israel that came not up with the congregation unto the Lord? For they had made a great oath concerning him that came not up to the Lord to Mizpeh, saying, He shall surely be put to death. And the children of Israel repented them for Benjamin their brother, and said, There is one tribe cut off from Israel this day."—*Judges* xxi. 5, 6.

"And he said unto him, Thus saith the Lord, Because thou hast let go out of thy hand a man whom I appointed to utter destruction, therefore thy life shall go for his life, and thy people for his people."—*1 Kings* xx. 42.

<sup>3</sup> *Judges* xi. Michaelis, iii. 30.

<sup>4</sup> "Let seven men of his sons be delivered unto us, and we will hang them up unto the Lord in Gibeah of Saul, whom the Lord did choose. And the king said, I will give them.....And he delivered them into the hands of the Gibeonites, and they hanged them in the hill before the Lord: and they fell all seven together, and were put to death in the days of harvest, in the first days, in the beginning of barley harvest."—*2 Sam.* xxi. 6, 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Genesis* xxii.

explain away<sup>1</sup>; and it assumes a yet higher importance when considered in connexion with the barbarous practice of sacrificing children to the Phœnician divinity Molech, the monstrous excrescence of a much later age, with which the Pentateuch is clearly familiar, while no passage can be cited to prove its existence beyond the time of the Babylonish captivity<sup>2</sup>. The strong aversion to human

<sup>1</sup> See Henke's *Mag.* v. 63, in opposition to Hess, *Geschichte der Patriarchen* (History of the Patriarchs) i. 345, and Jerusalem, *Betrachtungen* (Reflections), ii. 243.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the following verses:—

"And thou shalt not let any of thy seed pass through the fire to Molech, neither shalt thou profane the name of thy God: I am the Lord."—*Lev.* xviii. 21.

"Again, thou shalt say to the children of Israel, Whosoever he be of the children of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn in Israel, that giveth any of his seed unto Molech; he shall surely be put to death: the people of the land shall stone him with stones."—*Lev.* xx. 2.

"Thou shalt not do so unto the Lord thy God: for every abomination to the Lord, which he hateth, have they done unto their gods; for even their sons and their daughters they have burnt in the fire to their gods."—*Deut.* xii. 31.

"There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch."—*Deut.* xviii. 10.

"Yea, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto devils."—*Psalms* cvi. 37, one of the later Psalms.

"Enflaming yourselves with idols under every green tree, slaying the children in the vallies and in the cliffs of the rocks."—*Pseudo-Isaiah* lvii. 5. [Von Bohlen agrees with Gesenius, Eichhorn, Jahn and other German critics in ascribing the latter part of *Isaiah*, ch. 40—66, to a different author.]

"But he walked in the way of the kings of Israel, yea, and made his son to pass through the fire according to the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord cast out from before the children of Israel."—*2 Kings* xvi. 3.

"And they caused their sons and their daughters to pass through the fire, and used divination and enchantments, and sold themselves to do evil in the sight of the Lord, to provoke him to anger.....And the



sacrifices which the Persians entertained may have possibly contributed to effect this result: certain it is, that after the return into Palestine the practice of these sacrifices finally disappears, together with every trace of the previously existing idolatry. Before proceeding further, we shall find it necessary to take a brief survey, in the following chapter, of what is called the Babylonish captivity, as there is much which appears to terminate abruptly at this period, and the Jews on their return enter, as it were, on a totally new career. All that can be proved to be purely Hebrew in the historical and prophetic writings of the whole of this period, is the separation of Jehovah from the gods of the neighbouring tribes, his reception as the national Deity, and the progressive elevation of his attributes.

We find that, in the earliest times, the ark said to be of the covenant was regarded as the peculiar abode of Jehovah; this ark was merely a holy chest, like that which other nations are known to have carried with them in their expeditions, to contain what they held as most sacred<sup>1</sup>. It was

Avites made Nibhaz and Tartak, and the Sepharvites burnt their children in fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharvaim."—*2 Kings* xvii. 17, 31.

"And they have built the high places of Tophet, which is in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire; which I commanded them not, neither came it into my heart."—*Jerem.* vii. 31.

"Moreover he burnt incense in the valley of the son of Hinnom, and burnt his children in the fire, after the abominations of the heathen whom the Lord had cast out before the children of Israel."—*2 Chron.* xxviii. 3.

"And now they sin more and more, and have made them molten images of their silver, and idols according to their own understanding, all of it the work of the craftsman: they say of them, Let the men that sacrifice kiss the calves."—*Hosea* xiii. 2.

<sup>1</sup> See Spencer, *De Legg. Ritual.* Hebr. p. 1084.

generally kept at Shiloh, but was carried with their armies in war, and served in point of fact as a moveable sanctuary. We hear nothing of it for a very considerable period, and with the destruction of Solomon's temple it vanishes entirely from history.

Jehovah was supposed to dwell more especially wherever the ark happened to be placed; but we find nevertheless, in the earliest times, that places of sacrifice, altars and sanctuaries, almost without number, are mentioned where Jehovah was publicly worshiped, and whither Movers, on no sufficient evidence, supposes the ark to have been transferred. Among these places, to which men went to repair in order to ask counsel of Jehovah<sup>1</sup>, and most of which are provided with local traditions in Genesis, the following are frequently mentioned,—Bethel, Hebron, Sichem, Shiloh, Bethlehem, Mizpeh, Gibeah, Nob, Ramath, and Gilgal<sup>2</sup>. Samuel himself dwelt at Ramath and built an altar there<sup>3</sup>, but he made a yearly circuit to Bethel, Gilgal and Mizpeh, in order “to judge Israel.” Micah, a man of Ephraim, had a “house of God” of his own, and had moreover hired a Levite to officiate as his priest<sup>4</sup>, but “then there was no king in Israel, and every one did what was right in his own eyes.” The prophet

<sup>1</sup> “And the children of Israel arose, and went up to the house of God, and asked counsel of God, and said, Which of us shall go up first to the battle against the children of Benjamin? And the Lord said, Judah shall go up first.”—*Judges* xx. 18.

<sup>2</sup> See De Wette, i. 226, &c.; Bleek, *Stud. and Krit.*, 1831, iii. 503.

<sup>3</sup> “And he went from year to year in circuit to Beth el, and Gilgal, and Mizpeh, and judged Israel in all those places.”—1 *Sam.* vii. 16.

<sup>4</sup> “And the man Micah had an house of gods, and made an ephod, and teraphim, and consecrated one of his sons, who became his priest.”—*Judges* xvii. 5.

Gad, also, commanded David to build an altar on the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite<sup>1</sup>, and it seems by no means improbable that the forty-eight cities of the priests and Levites<sup>2</sup> may all originally have been "holy places<sup>3</sup>." Each of these of course had its separate body of priests; thus Ahimelech and his company were at Nob, of whom Saul slew eighty-five<sup>4</sup>, and all of these wore linen ephods and are termed priests of the Lord; the ark however could not have been there, and thus it would appear that a perfect freedom of worship (which even temples of stone can never entirely restrain) must at this time have everywhere prevailed. The Pentateuch, nevertheless, in order to pre-

<sup>1</sup> "And Gad came that day to David, and said unto him, Go up, rear an altar unto the Lord in the threshingfloor of Araunah the Jebusite."—2 *Sam.* xxiv. 18.

<sup>2</sup> "All the cities which ye shall give to the Levites shall be forty and eight cities: them shall ye give with their suburbs. And the cities which ye shall give shall be of the possession of the children of Israel: from them that have many ye shall give many: but from them that have few ye shall give few: every one shall give of his cities unto the Levites according to his inheritance which he inheriteth."—*Numb.* xxxv. 7, 8.

See note on Gen. xlix. 7. "I will divide them [Simeon and Levi] in Jacob and scatter them in Israel."

<sup>3</sup> Credner, on Joel ii. 25, p. 214.

<sup>4</sup> "Then came David to Nob to Ahimelech the priest."—1 *Sam.* xxi. 1. [See also the following verses:—

"And the king [Saul] said unto the footmen that stood about him, Turn and slay the priests of the Lord; because their hand also is with David, and because they knew when he fled, and did not show it to me. But the servants of the king would not put forth their hand to fall upon the priests of the Lord. And the king said to Doeg, Turn thou, and fall upon the priests. And Doeg the Edomite turned, and he fell upon the priests, and slew on that day fourscore and five persons that did wear a linen ephod. And Nob the city of the priests smote he with the edge of the sword, both men and women, children and sucklings, and oxen, and asses, and sheep, with the edge of the sword."—1 *Sam.* xxii. 17, 18, 19.]

vent all unauthorized worship, and guard the rights of the priests from even the possibility of infringement<sup>1</sup>, enjoins, under pain of death, that every offering should be brought to *one* sanctuary, the tabernacle of the congregation, and so by implication to the temple at Jerusalem<sup>2</sup>; thus in-

<sup>1</sup> Compare Levit. xvii. 8, 9. "And thou shalt say unto them, Whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel, or of the strangers which sojourn among you, that offereth a burnt offering or sacrifice, and bringeth it not unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, to offer it unto the Lord; even that man shall be cut off from among his people."

<sup>2</sup> "To the end that the children of Israel may bring their sacrifices, which they offer in the open field, even that they may bring them unto the Lord, unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, unto the priest, and offer them for peace offerings unto the Lord."—*Lev.* xvii. 5. So also Num. xvii. 3. [and 8.] and the following verses:—

"But unto the place which the Lord your God shall choose out of all your tribes to put his name there, even unto his habitation shall ye seek, and thither thou shalt come: and thither ye shall bring your burnt offerings, and your sacrifices, and your tithes, and heave offerings of your hand, and your vows, and your freewill offerings, and the firstlings of your herds and of your flocks: And there ye shall eat before the Lord your God, and ye shall rejoice in all that ye put your hand unto, ye and your households, wherein the Lord thy God hath blessed thee. Ye shall not do after all the things that we do here this day, every man whatsoever is right in his own eyes. For ye are not as yet come to the rest and to the inheritance, which the Lord your God giveth you. But when ye go over Jordan, and dwell in the land which the Lord your God giveth you to inherit, and when he giveth you rest from all your enemies round about, so that ye shall dwell in safety; then there shall be a place which the Lord your God shall choose to cause his name to dwell there; thither shall ye bring all that I command you; your burnt offerings, and your sacrifices, your tithes, and the heave offering of your hand, and all your choice vows which ye vow unto the Lord: and ye shall rejoice before the Lord your God, ye, and your sons, and your daughters, and your menservants, and your maidservants, and the Levite that is within your gates; forasmuch as he hath no part nor inheritance with you. Take heed to thyself that thou offer not thy burnt offerings in every place that thou seest."—*Deut.* xii. 5—13.

dulging, it would seem, the poetical idea that the priests in a body should receive all the firstlings of the herds and flocks of the people in one and the same place; nay, that every firstling should be actually eaten in the temple<sup>1</sup>, —a plan, it is manifest, that must have remained a mere pious imagination, and could never have been carried into practice.

The Pentateuch, moreover, is not only familiar with many articles of luxury and refinement, with gold and silver in abundance<sup>2</sup>, signet-rings<sup>3</sup>, woven veils<sup>4</sup>, crimson<sup>5</sup>, and so forth, but even presents us in the deserts of Arabia with a sacred tent<sup>6</sup> [or tabernacle] of the most costly materials,

<sup>1</sup> "All the firstling males that come of thy herd and of thy flock thou shalt sanctify unto the Lord thy God.....Thou shalt eat it [the firstling bullock or sheep] before the Lord thy God, year by year, in the place which the Lord shall choose, thou and thy household."—*Deut.* xv. 19, 20.

<sup>2</sup> "And Abram was very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold."—*Gen.* xiii. 2.

"And Abraham hearkened unto Ephron; and Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver, which he had named in the audience of the sons of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant."—*Gen.* xxiii. 16.

"And the Lord hath blessed my master greatly; and he is become great: and he hath given him flocks, and herds, and silver, and gold."—*Gen.* xxiv. 35.

"And they gave unto Jacob all the strange gods which were in their hand, and all their earrings which were in their ears."—*Gen.* xxxv. 4.

<sup>3</sup> "And he said, What pledge shall I give thee? And she said, Thy signet, and thy bracelets, and thy staff that is in thine hand."—*Gen.* xxxviii. 18.

<sup>4</sup> "She took a vail, and covered herself."—*Gen.* xxiv. 65.

"And she put her widow's garments off from her, and covered her with a vail, and wrapped herself."—*Gen.* xxxviii. 14.

<sup>5</sup> "The midwife took and bound upon his hand a scarlet thread."—*Gen.* xxxviii. 28.

<sup>6</sup> "According to all that I show thee, after the pattern of the taber-

in which, besides the gorgeous dresses of the priests<sup>1</sup>, and the large store of foreign spices<sup>2</sup>, gold and silver, brass and precious stones, silk and purple, were used in the utmost profusion. We learn, nevertheless, from the records of ancient commerce, that many of these articles (as silk and jewels for instance) were only introduced into western Asia by the trade which arose under Solomon; that gold came from a distance<sup>3</sup>; and that purple was extravagantly dear, (a pound of it being valued at £24 sterling, so late as the reign of Augustus), whilst the entire description is open to strong objections of a totally different character. The mythical character of the whole of this narrative is clearly betrayed in the statement, that the Deity himself is said to have given the plan for the tabernacle, and that at the same time (from the utter want of order that prevails in the plan which is given) no artist could possibly have constructed it<sup>4</sup>.

nacle, and the pattern of all the instruments thereof, even so shall ye make it."—*Exod.* xxv. 9.

"And Moses reared up the tabernacle, and fastened his sockets, and set up the boards thereof, and put in the bars thereof, and reared up his pillars."—*Exod.* xl. 18.

<sup>1</sup> "And these are the garments which they shall make; a breast-plate, and an ephod, and a robe, and a broidered coat, a mitre and a girdle: and they shall make holy garments for Aaron thy brother, and his sons, that he may minister unto me in the priest's office."—*Exod.* xxviii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> "Take thou also unto thee principal spices, of pure myrrh five hundred shekels, and of sweet cinnamon half so much, even two hundred and fifty shekels, and of sweet calamus two hundred and fifty shekels."—*Exod.* xxx. 23.

<sup>3</sup> "Silver spread into plates is brought from Tarshish, and gold from Uphaz, the work of the workman, and of the hands of the founder."—*Jerem.* x. 9.

"Then shalt thou lay up gold as dust, and the gold of Ophir as the stones of the brooks."—*Job* xxii. 24.

<sup>4</sup> See Vater on *Exod.* xxvi. [The position intended for the eight boards at the western extremity of the tabernacle, six on the two

In direct opposition, moreover, to this splendid tabernacle, a simple text is subsequently mentioned<sup>1</sup>, which would seem to be much more appropriate for a nomad tribe, (if, like the Carthaginians<sup>2</sup>, they actually carried such a tent-temple with them); strictly speaking, however, the narrative implies that even this was more than the Israelites possessed. And again, the Hebrews would appear, even at a later period, to have been sunk in the rudest state of barbarism; and they make no scruple to avow that, from the want of native smiths, they were obliged to have recourse to the Philistines for their scythes and axes and plough-shares<sup>3</sup>; and yet, although we are told that so late as Solomon there was no one who could hew wood like the Sidonians<sup>4</sup>, everything on this early occasion was produced with the greatest despatch and entirely by native artists. But a stronger argument may be founded on the fact, that this splendid tent is never once mentioned in the later period of the history; David, on the contrary, merely conveys the simple ark, without any of these costly implements of

western sides (verse 22), and two at the corners, and the construction of the five bars for the boards on the western sides, of which the middle bar was to go through the boards, from end to end, are particularly worthy of notice.]

<sup>1</sup> "And Moses took the tabernacle, and pitched it without the camp, afar off from the camp, and called it the Tabernacle of the congregation, And it came to pass, that every one which sought the Lord went out unto the tabernacle of the congregation, which was without the camp." — *Exod.* xxxiii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Diodor. xx. 25.

<sup>3</sup> "Now there was no smith found throughout all the land of Israel: for the Philistines said, Lest the Hebrews make them swords or spears." — *1 Sam.* xiii. 19. This passage may serve as a standard of comparison for many books of presumed antiquity, — Job, for instance, with its implements of iron.

<sup>4</sup> "Now therefore command thou that they hew me cedar trees out

sacrifice, to Zion<sup>1</sup>. Jahn demands also, with reference to this question, how any one could have thought of entering into so minute a description of the tabernacle, when at the same time no such account has been given of the famous temple of Solomon. But it is from this very temple, which no author had occasion to describe, that this ideal tabernacle appears for the most part to have been copied<sup>2</sup>, with occasional reference to the ancient tents of the congregation, as that for instance of Eli, from the description of which a phrase has been actually borrowed<sup>3</sup>. In poetry, when materials are wanted, the writer willingly has recourse to known objects and recent events in order to supply the deficiency. In such a case, the last in succession of all the different narratives of the same event may always be regarded as the real original; thus the fictitious history of early Rome carries back the conquest of the city of Fidenæ, in 328, to the time of Romulus<sup>4</sup>. The Pentateuch

of Lebanon; and my servants shall be with thy servants: and unto thee will I give hire for thy servants according to all that thou shalt appoint: for thou knowest that there is not among us any that can skill to hew timber like unto the Sidonians."—1 *Kings* v. 6.

<sup>1</sup> See Vater, Comm., p. 556; Hartmann, 'The Jewess at her Toilet,' ii. 1, iii. 163, and particularly De Wette, Contributions, i. 258, ii. 259, who considers the whole description as a pious fable.

<sup>2</sup> "And they brought in the ark of the Lord, and set it in his place, in the midst of the tabernacle that David had pitched for it: and David offered burnt offerings and peace offerings before the Lord."—2 *Sam.* vi. 17.

<sup>3</sup> "Now Eli was very old, and heard all that his sons did unto all Israel, and how they lay with the women that assembled at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation."—1 *Sam.* ii. 22.

[To be compared with the following verse]:—

"And he made the laver of brass, of the looking-glasses of the women assembling, which assembled at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation."—*Exod.* xxxviii. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Niebuhr, Rom. Gesch. i. 163.



has also a secondary object of great importance in view ; it wishes to rest the splendour of the priesthood on a foundation of high antiquity, and hence it gives a significant form of words for the perpetual maintenance of its ordinances<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> "And they [the linen breeches] shall be upon Aaron, and upon his sons, when they come in unto the tabernacle of the congregation, or when they come near unto the altar to minister in the holy place ; that they bear not iniquity, and die : it shall be a *statute for ever* unto him and his seed after him."—*Exod.* xxviii. 43.

## CHAPTER XV.

REVIEW OF THE BABYLONISH EXILE AND ITS  
CONSEQUENCES.

FROM what has been already stated it would appear, that we must reject the authority of the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, and, as will be seen in the sequel, even the inspired writings of the prophets themselves, when they are opposed to the unauthenticated legends of the priests, if we persist, with the defenders of the Pentateuch, in maintaining, that the efforts of individual kings to assist the priesthood as they rose in power, in establishing the purer worship of Jehovah, were always directed in strict accordance with the forms of the Levitical law. This was indeed first the case, according to real history, in the reign of Josiah; and from his time downwards the authority of the Pentateuch was fully recognized, more especially at the remodelling of the state on the return from the Babylonish exile. The whole period indeed of the dispersion (nearly a century and a half in length) was in every way fruitful in results of importance to the Israelitish people.

As early as the reign of Pekah (B.C. 741) a portion of the inhabitants of Galilee and Gilead had been transplanted by Tiglathpileser to Assyria<sup>1</sup>. Under Hosea (B.C. 722),

<sup>1</sup> "In the days of Pekah king of Israel came Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, and took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah, and Janoah, and Ke-

as is well known, Shalmaneser put an end to the kingdom of Israel, and conveyed large colonies of Jews to Assyria and Media<sup>1</sup>. And finally, the kingdom of Judah shared the same fate in the reign of Jehoiachin, whom Nebuchadnezzar carried captive with the chief of his people to Babylon. Such a transplantation of a vanquished people, (to supply whose place a band of faithful subjects was usually sent into the conquered territory), was one of the violent measures adopted by ancient policy, either to guard against the chance of insurrection or to transfer an industrious colony to some more favoured district. Instances of the same kind are by no means uncommon in history: it was thus Darius transplanted the Ionians and Phœnicians<sup>2</sup>; even the ancient Peruvians transplanted the nations whom they conquered<sup>3</sup>; and Goldingham remarks that in India, the removal of all the individuals belonging to particular classes of workmen to a distant region is not an unusual occurrence. The changes of place of the Afghan tribes will also be found to throw a curious light on this subject; these tribes live distinct from each other, and severally preserve their own peculiar manners, usages, and institutions, though they keep pace nevertheless with the intellectual civilization of their neighbours<sup>4</sup>.

desh, and Habor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria."—*2 Kings* xv. 29.

<sup>1</sup> "In the ninth year of Hoshea the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes."—*2 Kings* xvii. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. vi. 3; compare Ktesias, Pers. 9; Joseph. Arch. ii. 7, 7; Gesenius de Pent. Sam. p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> See *Sitten der Wilden in Amerika* (Customs of American Indians), i. 61.

<sup>4</sup> Elphinstone, *Kabul*, translated by Bertuch. i. 507.

Many erroneous conceptions appear to have hitherto prevailed with respect to the exile of the Hebrews: it seems to be generally regarded as little less than the sudden extinction of the whole Hebrew nation, and the prostration of all their higher tendencies; whereas it will be found in reality to furnish the true and original key to their purified worship and reverence for the Deity, and, above all, to the subsequent influence of the Levitical law; indeed the whole century deserves our particular attention, as it forms the most critical period for the Jewish hierarchy.

History shows that only a part of the nation was actually carried into captivity; Jeremiah, a contemporary witness, states the number who were compelled to emigrate from the kingdom of Judah, on three different occasions, at 4600 souls<sup>1</sup>; all the vine-dressers and husbandmen were also expressly excepted<sup>2</sup>. Banishment to a distant land must always be regarded as a heavy calamity, but in other respects the situation of the exiles was accompanied by many alleviating circumstances; they were allowed to settle on the rivers of Mesopotamia, and to retain their ancient constitution, as the mention of the "Elders of Israel" by Ezekiel would certainly seem to imply<sup>3</sup>. Hebrews of distinction were admitted to offices of state, which is fully

<sup>1</sup> "This is the people whom Nebuchadrezzar carried away captive: in the seventh year three thousand Jews and three and twenty: in the eighteenth year of Nebuchadrezzar he carried away captive from Jerusalem eight hundred thirty and two persons: in the three and twentieth year of Nebuchadrezzar Nebuzar-adan the captain of the guard carried away captive of the Jews seven hundred forty and five persons: all the persons were four thousand and six hundred."—*Jerem.* lii. 28—30.

<sup>2</sup> *Jerem.* lii. 16.

<sup>3</sup> "Then came certain of the elders of Israel unto me, and sat before me."—*Ezek.* xiv. 1.

"And it came to pass in the seventh year, in the fifth month, the

acknowledged in the story of Daniel, and many became colonists of note and completely forgot their native land<sup>1</sup>. The members of the ten tribes also became by degrees so thoroughly accustomed to the climate, and so completely incorporated with the surrounding nations, that they have disappeared from the face of the earth, and left not a trace of their existence. It is clear, therefore, that this transplantation of the Jews cannot be correctly termed a *captivity*<sup>2</sup>: still less are we justified in supposing that, during this period, the national spirit was all at once extinguished; it would seem, on the contrary, to have received a new impulse during the exile, from the pious hopes to which it gave birth, and afterwards from the restoration of the temple. The larger proportion of the Psalms in our collection relate wholly to the events of this period, dwelling with bitter regret on the glories of the past, or occasionally pouring forth the glad exultations of the exiled patriots returning to their ancient home<sup>3</sup>.

Hitherto the religion of the Hebrews had been developed less in form than in spirit by their poets and their prophets; and while its moral elements had gradually assumed more importance, less value was attached to mere external service;—hitherto the people, left to their own guidance, had

tenth day of the month, that certain of the elders of Israel came to enquire of the Lord, and sat before me.”—*Ezek.* xx. 1.

“And it came to pass the next day, when the people were assembled to her husband Joacim, the two elders came also full of mischievous imagination against Susanna to put her to death.”—*Susan.* i. 28.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Tobit ii. 14, [or rather Tobit xiv. 13, 14. “Where [in Ecbatana] he [Tobias] became old with honour.....and he died at Ecbatana in Media, being 127 years old.”]

<sup>2</sup> See especially Jost, *Jud. Geschichte* (*Hist. Jews*), iii. 10, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Psalms xiv. xxiii. xxvi. xxvii. xl. xliii. xlv. li. cxxxvii. cxxxix., Isaiah xl.—lxvi.

been constantly devoted to the religion of nature and the popular superstitions of Palestine ; but now, for the first time, they were united under a purer faith, and realized at length the pious desires of their earlier bards and sages. Whilst they remained among the Persians, they lived to witness the religious reformation brought about by Zoroaster, and it was under the Persian rule that the Jews conceived a deep aversion to every species of idolatry, whilst those who took refuge in Egypt conformed to the religion of that country<sup>1</sup>. "During their exile," says Jost<sup>2</sup>, "the Jews had derived from the Persians (and Babylonians) new views of religion, new arts and a new language, and had adopted a new mode of life ;" and thereupon they sought to collect all the fragments of their own literature that were still in existence : the historical works were reduced into convenient epitomes, the prophetical and poetical portions were connected together and (as the author and the date were in most cases unknown, and the contents of many writings might appear objectionable) they were either arranged according to an historical succession, or the writings were connected according to the similarity of their contents, in which at first, as was natural on a fresh organization of the state, the laws would appear to have been regarded as objects of great importance. A legend, which ought not to be wholly rejected, freely admits that Ezra had rendered important service in the department of the laws ; and it would also appear, that in the gradual collection of the

<sup>1</sup> "In that ye provoke me unto wrath with the works of your hands, burning incense unto other gods in the land of Egypt, whither ye be gone to dwell, that ye might cut yourselves off, and that ye might be a curse and a reproach among all the nations of the earth."—*Jeremiah* xliv. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Jud. Geschichte* (Hist. Jews), i. 45, ii. 252.

other writings (which offer no decisive grounds for a settlement of what is called the Canon), the final arrangement was the work of some one disposing hand; since, notwithstanding the pervading want of any settled system of chronology, the remarkable fact appears, that the interval between the most important events exactly corresponds with the cycle of [fifty years for] the year of Jubilee. Frank<sup>1</sup> has proved this most clearly, and infers from it that, in the Hebrew history, the wisdom of the Deity had so ordered the course of events as to bring them into accordance with this chronological cycle, whereas in profane authors the chronology is obliged to follow the course of events. There is good reason to believe, that the whole collection of the books of the Old Testament did not assume its present shape, nor become an object of popular veneration, until a much later date than that which is usually assigned<sup>2</sup>. The people had become so completely Aramæan during their residence near Babylon, that they were obliged, on their return, to employ interpreters in the public reading<sup>3</sup> of the Scriptures, and it could only have been by very slow degrees that their writings were first fixed in the later square character derived from the Chaldæan.

Lastly we may observe, in the words of Jost, that "the popular conceptions of the liberation of the Jews under Cyrus (B.C. 536) are very far from being correct; for these

<sup>1</sup> Astron. Grundrechnung der Bibl. Geschichte. (Astronom. Foundation of Biblical History). Dessau, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> See Jost iii. 114.

<sup>3</sup> "And all the people gathered themselves together as one man into the street that was before the water gate; and they spake unto Ezra the scribe to bring the book of the law of Moses, which the Lord had commanded to Israel."—*Nehem.* viii. 1. [See also verses 7 and 8.]

would lead us to suppose that a captive band of slaves had suddenly received the royal permission to form themselves again into a nation, to choose their own king, and to build for themselves a metropolis and a temple. All, however, that could have been reasonably expected from an Eastern despot would have been the permission to return to their own homes, for those who were desirous of obtaining such a privilege; and Cyrus had at that time no further reason to fear an insurrection in the district to which they were going, as the province in which it lay had been reduced to complete subjection." It appears, indeed, that the returning colony consisted only of the poorer class of people, led by a few pious priests, to whom alone we are indebted for the preservation of the national literature; or, as the Talmud expresses it, "only the chaff was borne away upon the wind, while the finer meal remained behind<sup>1</sup>."

We now return from this digression, to continue our examination of the Pentateuch, commencing with the Levites, who were the great upholders of the ceremonial system.

<sup>1</sup> Mesech. Kidduschim, c. 4.



## CHAPTER XVI.

EARLY SIMPLE CUSTOM.—GRADUAL FORMATION OF THE  
HIERARCHY.—GENEALOGIES OF THE CHRONICLES.

IT is sufficiently clear, from remarks which have been already made, but which cannot be too frequently or too emphatically repeated, that the critic of Biblical literature has from an early period wholly overlooked the epical character of the Pentateuch, and has mistaken the Biblical chronicles for a faithful record of historical facts; and hence he has been placed in a false position, and the principal events of Hebrew history have been altogether disarranged.

Even Hüllmann commences his "Constitution of the Israelites" by an allusion to "the royal government towards the close of the sacerdotal,"—an error serious in itself, which leads to many more in the sequel; and Movers<sup>1</sup> sums up the result of his inquiries in the following statement: "After the rise of the kingly dignity, the pure hierarchical constitution, which had previously prevailed, was so far modified, that the supreme direction of spiritual matters passed, with the temporal power, from the heads of the priesthood into the hands of their royal successors." Such certainly is the impression which the Levitical hierarchy itself was anxious to convey, (for the assertion that the tribe of Levi was set apart as a holy order by Moses rests solely

<sup>1</sup> Page 276.

on the authority of the Pentateuch,) and similar assertions have been made by the sacerdotal order at all times and in every nation: thus the Brahmins of India are said to have come forth from the mouth of the Creator himself, and in their sacerdotal literature they have made the same careful provision for the enduring splendour of their race, that in virtue of their holy origin they might soar above the heads of their princes, dispute their superior rank by pretending to a higher antiquity, and be prepared, on the first favourable opportunity, to wrest the very sceptre from their grasp. A state of things the very opposite to this, but in strict accordance with the uniform progress of national culture, may be shown however to have everywhere obtained, and most especially among the Hebrews; and he who examines without prejudice the traditions of the books of Samuel and Judges will gain a very different conception of the origin of the priesthood from that which is presented by the Pentateuch. It is true that these historical documents are separated by some considerable interval from the events which they narrate; the book of Judges speaks of "kings over Israel<sup>1</sup>," and even of the banishment of Dan<sup>2</sup>; and both the commencement and

<sup>1</sup> "In those days there was no king in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes."—*Judges* xvii. 6.

"In those days there was no king in Israel."—*Judges* xviii. 1.

"And it came to pass in those days, when there was no king in Israel."—*Judges* xix. 1.

"In those days there was no king in Israel: every man did that which was right in his own eyes."—*Judges* xxi. 25.

<sup>2</sup> "And the children of Dan set up the graven image: and Jonathan the son of Gershom, the son of Manasseh, he and his sons, were priests to the tribe of Dan, until the day of the captivity of the land."—*Judges* xviii. 30.

conclusion appear to be subsequent additions, intended the better to adapt it to fill the chasm which was left in their history. The author of the books of Samuel prophecies of the building of the temple<sup>1</sup>; nay, he has it actually before his eyes<sup>2</sup>; and the sacred ark is already working its miracles<sup>3</sup>; he traces an established custom among the priests of Dagon from an ancient period<sup>4</sup>, cites the etymology of a name as from some earlier date<sup>5</sup>, and employs the expression "unto the present day<sup>6</sup>," so that the mention of the Levites might have been very reasonably expected; but it is evident, from the simple style of the narrative, that it has faithfully adhered to existing traditions, and the little sympathy it betrays for the Levitical system is only the

<sup>1</sup> "He shall build an house for my name, and I will stablish the throne of his kingdom for ever."—2 *Sam.* vii. 13.

<sup>2</sup> "Now Eli the priest sat upon a seat by a post of the temple of the Lord."—1 *Sam.* i. 9.

"And ere the lamp of the God went out in the temple of the Lord, where the ark of God was."—1 *Sam.* iii. 3.

<sup>3</sup> "And he smote the men of Bethshemeah, because they had looked into the ark of the Lord, even he smote of the people fifty thousand and threescore and ten men: and the people lamented, because the Lord had smitten many of the people with a great slaughter."—1 *Sam.* vi. 19.

"And the anger of the Lord was kindled against Uzzah; and God smote him there for his error; and there he died by the ark of God."—2 *Sam.* vi. 7.

<sup>4</sup> "Therefore neither the priests of Dagon, nor any that come into Dagon's house, tread on the threshold of Dagon in Ashdod unto this day."—1 *Sam.* v. 5.

<sup>5</sup> "Wherefore Saul returned from pursuing after David, and went against the Philistines: therefore they called that place Sela-hammah-lekoth [the rock of divisions]."—1 *Sam.* xxiii. 28.

<sup>6</sup> "Wherefore Ziklag pertaineth unto the kings of Judah unto this day."—1 *Sam.* xxvii. 6.

"And David was displeased, because the Lord had made a breach upon Uzzah: and he called the name of the place Perezuzzah [the breach of Uzzah] to this day."—2 *Sam.* vi. 8.

more surprizing in proportion to the more recent date we assign to it.

In this earliest history we cannot discover any trace of the existence even of a sacerdotal *caste*; although, according to the Pentateuch, the Hebrew worship, with its elaborate ceremonial, had been placed under the *exclusive* charge of the Levites, and the sacrifices could *only* be offered before the door of the tabernacle; the offerings [in the books of Samuel] are of the simplest kind, and by no means limited to the locality of the ark, though wherever it remained Jehovah was supposed more especially to reside; fathers of families, kings and leaders, discharge the sacerdotal functions<sup>1</sup>, and all is in strict accordance with the simple manners of those early times and the ordinary practice of antiquity among other nations<sup>2</sup>. Indeed the contrast with the institutions of the Pentateuch is here so striking, that we might almost believe we were transported to a different people, did not the book of Genesis so far retain the semblance of antiquity<sup>3</sup> as not expressly to imply the existence of the Levites, though a reference to their institutions is often sufficiently evident<sup>4</sup>.

The sons of Eli—Hophni and Phinehas—are priests at Shiloh<sup>5</sup>, and they are also dissolute men, who apply the

<sup>1</sup> Judges vi. 18, &c. Gideon's offering.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Homer, Odyss. iii. 418. Herod. vi. 56, Aristot. de Rep. iii. 14, ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς κύριος. Diod. Sic. ii. 47. Cicero de Div. i. 40. Virg. Æn. iii. 80, and elsewhere. Feith, Antiq. Homer. i. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Copied possibly from a later model in the patriarchal tribes, or it may be from occasional examples among the Hebrews themselves.

<sup>4</sup> See, on Gen. i. 14, iv. 3, vii. 2, viii. 21, xiv. 20, xv. 10, xvii. 14, xxv. 22, xxvi. 5, xxviii. 22, xxxv. 21, xxxvii. 28; chap. xxxviii. xlv. &c.

<sup>5</sup> "And this man went up out of his city yearly to worship and to sacrifice unto the Lord of hosts in Shiloh. And the two sons of Eli, Hophni and Phinehas, the priests of the Lord, were there."—1 Sam. i. 3.

meat of the sacrifices to their private use<sup>1</sup>, and who lie with the women that ministered before the door of the tabernacle<sup>2</sup>. The sanctuary would almost appear to have been in their private possession, for the altar was to be removed from the house of Eli and his father<sup>3</sup>; and yet at a later period the priesthood at Shiloh was hereditary in the family of Eli<sup>4</sup>. The devout with their families, (as Elkanah for instance) go to Shiloh to offer sacrifices "*at the usual time*"<sup>5</sup>. Somewhat later David is desirous to go to Bethlehem for the same purpose<sup>6</sup>, and every family appears to have offered these festive sacrifices without reference either to time or place,—“but the word of Jehovah was rare in those days<sup>7</sup>.”

<sup>1</sup> “And the priest’s custom with the people was, that, when any man offered sacrifice, the priest’s servant came, while the flesh was in seething, with a fleshhook of three teeth in his hand: and he struck it into the pan, or kettle, or caldron, or pot; all that the fleshhook brought up the priest took for himself. So they did in Shiloh unto all the Israelites that came thither.”—1 Sam. ii. 13, 14.

<sup>2</sup> “Now Eli was very old, and heard all that his sons did unto all Israel; and how they lay with the women that assembled at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.”—1 Sam. ii. 22.

<sup>3</sup> “Behold, the days come, that I will cut off thine arm, and the arm of thy father’s house, that there shall not be an old man in thine house.”—1 Sam. ii. 31.

<sup>4</sup> “And there was Ahiah, the son of Ahitub, I-chabod’s brother, the son of Phinehas, the son of Eli, the Lord’s priest in Shiloh, wearing an ephod.”—1 Sam. xiv. 3.

<sup>5</sup> “And the man Elkanah, and all his house, went up to offer unto the Lord the sacrifice at the usual time, and his vow.”—1 Sam. i. 21.

“Moreover his mother made him a little coat, and brought it to him at her own time, when she came up with her husband to offer the sacrifice at her own time.”—1 Sam. ii. 19. [From Luther’s translation.]

<sup>6</sup> “If thy father at all miss me, then say, David earnestly asked leave of me that he might run to Beth-lehem his city: for there is a yearly sacrifice there for all the family.”—1 Sam. xx. 6.

<sup>7</sup> “And the child Samuel ministered unto the Lord before Eli. And the word of the Lord was precious in those days: there was no open vision.”—1 Sam. iii. 1.

Samuel was devoted to the service of Jehovah by his parents at Shiloh, though, according to the books of Samuel, he did not belong to the tribe of Levi, whatever the Chronicles or their apologists may say to the contrary. The child "ministered before Eli<sup>1</sup>," and did not remain in the neighbourhood of the ark, for we find him soon after in various parts of the land as the seer and prophet of the Lord, whom Jehovah himself had raised up<sup>2</sup>. Samuel "gathers all Israel," as before mentioned, at the holy places, such as Mizpeh, though at that time the ark was not there<sup>3</sup>; he speaks of God as at Bethel<sup>4</sup>, when the ark was not there, and of the Lord at Gilgal<sup>5</sup>, though the ark cannot have been there. The ark is carried with the army into the field, under the charge of the two sons of Eli<sup>6</sup>, and the Philistines fear the sanctuary as the seat of a hostile deity. Then come the *men of Kirjath Jearim* (not Levites)

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. ii. 11.

<sup>2</sup> "And I will raise up a faithful priest, that shall do according to that which is in mine heart and in my mind: and I will build him a sure house; and he shall walk before mine anointed for ever."—1 Sam. ii. 35.

"And all Israel from Dan even to Beersheba knew that Samuel was established to be a prophet of the Lord."—1 Sam. iii. 20.

<sup>3</sup> "And Samuel said, Gather all Israel to Mizpeh, and I will pray for you unto the Lord."—1 Sam. vii. 5.

"And Samuel called the people together unto the Lord to Mizpeh."—1 Sam. x. 17.

<sup>4</sup> "And thou shalt come to the plain of Tabor, and there shall meet thee three men going up to God to Beth-el."—1 Sam. x. 3.

<sup>5</sup> "And all the people went to Gilgal; and there they made Saul king before the Lord in Gilgal; and there they sacrificed sacrifices of peace offerings before the Lord."—1 Sam. xi. 15.

<sup>6</sup> "So the people sent to Shiloh, that they might bring from thence the ark of the covenant of the Lord of hosts, which dwelleth between the cherubims: and the two sons of Eli, Hophni and Phinehas, were there with the ark of the covenant of God."—1 Sam. iv. 4.

to fetch the ark, and bring it into the house of Abinadab at Gibeah, whence it was again removed by David<sup>1</sup>, and here Eleazar, the son of Abinadab, requires to be especially sanctified, that he may take charge of the ark<sup>2</sup>. There is one, and only one, passage in which the Levites suddenly appear upon the scene, and carry the ark<sup>3</sup>; but, in this particular instance, all the ridicule of Movers<sup>4</sup> cannot persuade us to reject the probable conjecture of De Wette, that, as Bethshemesh afterwards became a sacerdotal city, the term 'Levites' may here have crept into the text instead of 'the Bethshemites.' In David's time it is only incidentally mentioned that the Levites carried the ark<sup>5</sup>, while the Chronicles on the contrary<sup>6</sup> exhibit, in their time, regular tables of pedigree; they contain a prolix account of the appointment of the Levites, and they assemble them in crowds in order to give splendour to the procession.

<sup>1</sup> "And they set the ark of God upon a new cart, and brought it out of the house of Abinadab that was in Gibeah: and Uzzah and Ahio, the sons of Abinadab, drove the new cart."—2 *Sam.* vi. 3.

<sup>2</sup> "And the men of Kirjath-jearim came, and fetched up the ark of the Lord, and brought it into the house of Abinadab in the hill, and sanctified Eleazar his son to keep the ark of the Lord."—1 *Sam.* vii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> "And the Levites took down the ark of the Lord, and the coffer that was with it, wherein the jewels of gold were, and put them on the great stone: and the men of Beth-shemesh offered burnt offerings and sacrificed sacrifices the same day unto the Lord."—1 *Sam.* vi. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Page 257.

<sup>5</sup> And lo Zadok also, and all the Levites were with him, bearing the ark of the covenant of God: and they set down the ark of God; and Abiathar went up, until all the people had done passing out of the city."—2 *Sam.* xv. 24.

<sup>6</sup> Compare 1 Chron. ch. xv. and xvi. with 2 *Sam.* vi. 11:—"And the ark of the Lord continued in the house of Obed-edom the Gittite three months: and the Lord blessed Obed-edom, and all his household."

In a subsequent chapter Samuel offers sacrifices, while the people pour out water before Jehovah, and fast throughout the day<sup>1</sup>. In the city of Zuph this sacrifice is offered on the high places; there is a solemn feast, to which about thirty men are invited; it is eaten in common, and Samuel comes to the city in order to bless the sacrificial meats<sup>2</sup>. We thus find that what are called meat and drink offerings are the oldest on record, and the writings of Joel are far from presenting "a splendid Levitical form of temple worship" which, according to Movers, existed in the time of that prophet (whether he wrote B.C. 870 or 850, or later), indeed they would seem to recognize no other worship than that of fasting<sup>3</sup>; and the very use of the definite article (in *hakkohānim*, the appointed priests), no less than the addition *ministers of Jehovah*, and *ministers of the Altar*, would appear to betray their recent origin, and to be designed to mark the distinction between them and the ministers of other deities.

Under the three first kings this simple state of things appears to have remained unaltered; a certain progress, nevertheless, of the sacerdotal power may be dimly traced

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. vii. 6—10.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. ix. 12—22.

<sup>3</sup> "The meat offering and the drink offering is cut off from the house of the Lord; the priests, the Lord's ministers, mourn.....Gird yourselves, and lament, ye priests: howl, ye ministers of the altar; come, lie all night in sackcloth, ye ministers of my God: for the meat offering and the drink offering is withholden from the house of your God. Sanctify ye a fast, call a solemn assembly, gather the elders and all the inhabitants of the land into the house of the Lord your God, and cry unto the Lord.....Is not the meat cut off before our eyes, yea, joy and gladness from the house of our God."—*Joel* i. 9, 13, 14, 16.

"Who knoweth if he will return and repent, and leave a blessing behind him; even a meat-offering and a drink offering unto the Lord your God? Blow the trumpet in Zion, sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly."—*Joel* ii. 14, 15.



through the twilight obscurity of the age succeeding Samuel; but to this remarkable man we shall return in a subsequent chapter, to consider his influence under another point of view.

Saul erects an altar for himself, and offers the sacrifice with his own hand<sup>1</sup>, whereat we are told Samuel was sorely displeased. Passages such as these are not to be summarily dismissed with the ironical remark of Movers, that a similar mode of interpretation would convert the Egyptian Pharaoh into his own upper hangman<sup>2</sup>. Priests evidently existed at the time of Samuel, but they appear to have had little authority; Saul does not scruple to massacre a number of them<sup>3</sup>, and they could moreover be deprived of their office. David is admitted to have been both king and priest, as Melchizedek was before him<sup>4</sup>; he has two house-priests<sup>5</sup>, Zadok and Abiathar, but they are kept very much in the back-ground; the king assumes the priestly ephod<sup>6</sup>, performs the whole service, offers the sacrifice himself and blesses the people<sup>7</sup>, while no mention is made

<sup>1</sup> "And Saul said, Bring hither a burnt offering to me, and peace offerings. And he offered the burnt offering."—1 Sam. xiii. 9.

"And Saul built an altar unto the Lord: the same was the first altar that he built unto the Lord."—1 Sam. xiv. 35.

<sup>2</sup> "He [Pharaoh] hanged the chief baker."—Gen. xl. 22. Movers, p. 270.

<sup>3</sup> "And the king said to Doeg, Turn thou, and fall upon the priests. And Doeg the Edomite turned, and he fell upon the priests, and slew on that day fourscore and five persons that did wear a linen ephod."—1 Sam. xxii. 18.

<sup>4</sup> "The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek."—Ps. cx. 4. See Gen. xi. 18 and note.

<sup>5</sup> *High priests* has crept into the text.

<sup>6</sup> "And he [David] said to Abiathar the priest, Bring hither the ephod."—1 Sam. xxiii. 9. See also 1 Sam. xxx. 7, 8.

<sup>7</sup> "And David was girded with a linen ephod.....And they brought

of the Mosaic tabernacle or of the sacred vessels it contained. Adonijah, the son of David, prepares with his own hand a sacrificial feast, and invites to it the chief among the people, in order to obtain their favour<sup>1</sup>; Abiathar sides with him<sup>2</sup>, and Solomon in consequence is allowed to degrade him "that he should no longer be a priest unto the Lord<sup>3</sup>," a stretch of authority at utter variance with the whole Levitical law. Zadok is now the first priest<sup>4</sup>, yet his son, without respect for hereditary caste, is made a prince or chief military officer by Solomon<sup>5</sup>. David even appoints his own sons to be priests<sup>6</sup>, but this is an exercise of his power which the Chronicles can by no means sanction, and they therefore give to *kohānim* [or priests]

in the ark of the Lord, and set it in his place, in the midst of the tabernacle that David had pitched for it: and David offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings before the Lord. And as soon as David had made an end of offering burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, he blessed the people in the name of the Lord of hosts."—2 *Sam.* vi. 14, 17, 18.

<sup>1</sup> "And Adonijah slew sheep and oxen and fat cattle by the stone of Zoheleth, which is by En-rogel, and called all his brethren the king's sons, and all the men of Judah the king's servants."—1 *Kings* i. 9.

<sup>2</sup> "He conferred with Joab the son of Zeruiah, and with Abiathar the priest: and they following Adonijah helped him."—1 *Kings* i. 7.

<sup>3</sup> "So Solomon thrust out Abiathar from being priest unto the Lord; that he might fulfil the word of the Lord, which he spake concerning the house of Eli in Shiloh."—1 *Kings* ii. 27.

<sup>4</sup> "And the king put Benaiah the son of Jehoiada in his room over the host: and Zadok the priest did the king put in the room of Abiathar."—1 *Kings* ii. 35.

<sup>5</sup> "And these were the princes which he had; Azariah the son of Zadok the priest," &c.—1 *Kings* iv. 2. Compare Hüllmann, p. 168.

<sup>6</sup> "And Benaiah the son of Jehoiada was over both the Cherethites and the Pelethites; and David's sons were priests."—2 *Sam.* viii. 18.

[Gesenius, in his *Lexicon*, art. *Kohen*, considers that the sons of David in this passage "were probably priests or ecclesiastical counsellors, though they were not Levitical priests. The writer of the Chronicles however," he adds, "chose not to give the name *Kohen* to any but Levitical priests."]

the forced interpretation, "first at the hand of the king<sup>1</sup>." Evidence is here given in fact, as well as with reference to the author of the Chronicles, of something very different from a zeal for critical accuracy, when the writer abandons in this single passage the uniform usage of the language, with reference to *kohen* [a priest], and, regardless of the grammatical construction in 2 Sam. xx. 23<sup>2</sup>, gives to the whole verse a completely different meaning<sup>3</sup>. Such intentional perversions may be left to their natural fate.

Again, Solomon himself offers sacrifices upon the high places; he sacrifices three times a year, and pronounces a blessing on the people<sup>4</sup>; he consecrates the new temple himself, with sacrifices and prayers; he directs the sacred rites with the aid of the elders of the people, and, as it would appear, without even the assistance of the priests<sup>5</sup>; nay, there was then so little exclusiveness in the worship

<sup>1</sup> "And Benaiah the son of Jehoiada was over the Cherethites and the Pelethites; and the sons of David were chief at the hand of the king."—1 *Chron.* xviii. 17. See Gesenius, *Introd. to Lex.* xxix. *Geschichte der Hebr. Spr.* (Hist. of the Heb. Lang.) p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> "Now Joab was over all the host of Israel: and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada was over the Cherethites and over the Pelethites." (*Benaiah ben jehoiada' 'al-hakkērethi v' 'al-happēlethi.*)—2 *Sam.* xx. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Movers, p. 302.

<sup>4</sup> "And the king went to Gibeon to sacrifice there; for that was the great high place: a thousand burnt-offerings did Solomon offer upon that altar."—1 *Kings* iii. 4.

"And he stood, and blessed all the congregation of Israel with a loud voice."—1 *Kings* viii. 55.

"And three times in a year did Solomon offer burnt-offerings and peace-offerings upon the altar which he built unto the Lord, and he burnt incense upon the altar that was before the Lord. So he finished the house."—1 *Kings* ix. 25.

<sup>5</sup> "Then Solomon assembled the elders of Israel, and all the heads of the tribes, the chief of the fathers of the children of Israel, unto king Solomon in Jerusalem, that they might bring up the ark of the covenant of the Lord out of the city of David, which is Zion."—1 *Kings* viii. 1.

of Jehovah, that the same prince [in his old age] absolutely erected subsidiary temples in honour of Belus and Astarte.

We have now arrived at the period when, with a fixed sanctuary requiring a larger body of attendant priests, the Levitical system gradually makes its appearance. As the Mahometan tribe Koreish obtained the exclusive guardianship of the Caaba at Mecca, so the rise of the tribe of Levi, and its growth into a separate caste, appears to be intimately connected with the temple of Solomon. The first-born [of the Hebrews] became heads of families, and these, as such, were priests; they were sacred to Jehovah by virtue of their very birth; and it is clearly implied, that the Levites were actually chosen from among the first-born of the people, just as in Thibet the priesthood has grown to its present enormous extent from the custom which prevails, in almost every family, of dedicating the first-born to the church. A powerful argument for the later separation of the tribe of Levi is derived from the book of Genesis (chap. xlviii.), but we must reserve for the commentary<sup>1</sup> a fuller proof that the origin usually assigned to this tribe is a mere fiction; that their subsequent dispersion among the rest of the people had no connexion with the priesthood, and that it cannot be proved whether, even under the complete organization of the hierarchy as it lies before us in the Law, whole cities were really in their possession. That the elevation of the Levites to their high dignity was not effected without opposition, is sufficiently evident from a holy legend preserved in Numbers<sup>2</sup>; but the earth was then enabled to swallow up such opponents, in order to terrify the people of Israel.

The growth of a hierarchy must in every case be more

<sup>1</sup> See Gen. xlix. 7, and note in vol. ii.

<sup>2</sup> Num. xvi. 3, &c.

give a fictitious colouring to the obscure period of David, and surround him with singers and musicians to increase the splendour of his worship<sup>1</sup>; and they carry back to his times their own classification of the Levitical families, which seem scarcely implied by the term "*holy princes*,"<sup>2</sup> and which cannot be proved to have existed earlier than about the period of the exile. But notwithstanding all this, we can by no means side with those who would charge the original authors or subsequent compiler of the books of Chronicles with intentional falsification; since all these phenomena are found to appear, we might almost say spontaneously, in every growing hierarchy, and are by no means to be ascribed to any one individual. To the same class belong the tables of genealogy, which are assumed to be historical, and ought in such a case to be absolutely free from error and contradiction, but which nevertheless everywhere betray how slowly they were formed and how much they were indebted to the invention of their authors. The Pentateuch mentions three sons of Levi,—Gershon, Kohath, and Merari<sup>3</sup>; the sons of Kohath, from whom the Levites immediately descend, are Amram

the hand of the priests the Levites, whom David had distributed in the house of the Lord, to offer the burnt-offerings of the Lord, as it is written in the law of Moses, with rejoicing and with singing, as it was ordained by David. And he set the porters at the gates of the house of the Lord, that none which was unclean in any thing should enter in."—2 *Chron.* xxiii. 18, 19.

<sup>1</sup> 1 *Chron.* xv. 16, xxv. 1, &c., in conformity with the legends which attributed skill in music to their favourite hero (2 *Sam.* vi. 5, *Amos* vi. 5), just as the Arabs extol his skill in the making of armour.

<sup>2</sup> Pseudo-Isaiah xliii. 28.

<sup>3</sup> "And these are the names of the sons of Levi according to their generations; Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari."—*Exod.* vi. 16.

"And these were the sons of Levi by their names; Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari."—*Numb.* iii. 17.

(father of Moses and Aaron), Izehar, Hebron, and Uzziel. Korah is the son of Izehar, and Elkanah is the son of Korah. Even at this early stage the genealogical table of the Chronicles is so far inconsistent with this, that in one instance it mentions an Amminadab as the son of Kohath, and in a second table entirely omits Elkanah the son of Korah<sup>1</sup>. The Chronicles borrow from 1 Sam. i. 1. the genealogy of Samuel as far upwards as Zuph, and seek to make a Levite of this illustrious man; but they term the very same ancestor in one case Nahath (verse 26) and in another Toah (verse 34), because, previous to the time of Zuph, the names had to be invented. A similar licence has been used in the line of successive priests from the time of Aaron Eleazar and Phinehas, who are borrowed from the Pentateuch down to Jehozadak, who was carried away captive by Nebuchadnezzar<sup>2</sup>. We find but twenty-two names to distribute over the immense interval of nearly two thousand years, and yet many remarkable men whose names occur in the historical

<sup>1</sup> "The sons of Kohath; Amminadab his son, Korah his son, Assir his son."—1 *Chron.* vi. 22, &c. See also "the son of Ebiasaph, the son of Korah," verse 37. [See *Exod.* vi. 24.]

<sup>2</sup> "The sons of Levi; Gershon, Kohath, and Merari. And the sons of Kohath; Amram, Izhar, and Hebron, and Uzziel. And the children of Amram; Aaron, and Moses, and Miriam. The sons also of Aaron; Nadab, and Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar. Eleazar begat Phinehas, Phinehas begat Abishua; and Abishua begat Bukki, and Bukki begat Uzzi; and Uzzi begat Zerariah, and Zerariah begat Meraioth; Meraioth begat Amariah, and Amariah begat Ahitub; and Ahitub begat Zadok, and Zadok begat Ahimaaz; and Ahimaaz begat Azariah, and Azariah begat Johanan; and Johanan begat Azariah, (he it is that executed the priest's office in the temple that Solomon built in Jerusalem): and Azariah begat Amariah, and Amariah begat Ahitub; and Ahitub begat Zadok, and Zadok begat Shallum; and Shallum begat Hilkiah, and Hilkiah begat Azariah; and Azariah begat Seraiah; and Seraiah begat Jehozadak; and Jehozadak went into captivity when the Lord carried away Judah and Jerusalem by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar."—1 *Chron.* vi. 1—15.

writings are introduced among them; Zadok, for instance, and Ahimaaz under David<sup>1</sup>, and Azariah under Uzziah<sup>2</sup>, and between these we have only Azariah (under Solomon<sup>3</sup>), and Johanan, though it is manifest that the long period of more than two centuries which intervened between David and Uzziah cannot possibly have been filled up by only two priests. The extraordinary poverty in this collection of names is also worthy of notice, for the Azariah we have mentioned is succeeded by Amariah<sup>4</sup>, Ahitub and Zadok, who occur in precisely the same order before the time of David,—a coincidence which cannot be explained by any supposed similarity in the names of forefathers and their descendents. In the other genealogies of the Chronicles the same difficulty in manufacturing names is repeatedly apparent; nay in some cases even cities are called in to supply the deficiency, and are made, like Hebron, to stand in the place of men; for instance, Kirjath-jearim, Ephratah<sup>5</sup> (which conducted the compiler by a natural transition to Bethlehem<sup>6</sup>), Penuel, Tekoa<sup>7</sup>, Anathoth<sup>8</sup>, and even Thar-

<sup>1</sup> "And Zadok the son of Ahitub, and Abimelech the son of Abiathar, were the priests; and Seraiah was the scribe."—2 *Sam.* viii. 17.

"The king said also unto Zadok the priest, Art not thou a seer? return into the city in peace, and your two sons with you, Ahimaaz thy son, and Jonathan the son of Abiathar."—2 *Sam.* xv. 27.

<sup>2</sup> "And Azariah the priest went in after him, and with him fourscore priests of the Lord, that were valiant men."—2 *Chron.* xxvi. 17.

<sup>3</sup> "And these were the princes which he had, Azariah the son of Zadok, the priest."—1 *Kings* iv. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Under Jehosaphat, 2 *Chron.* xix. 11. See note (c), p. 199.

<sup>5</sup> "These were the sons of Caleb the son of Hur, the first-born of Ephratah; Shobal the father of Kirjath-jearim, Salma the father of Bethlehem."—1 *Chron.* ii. 50, 51.

Verse 51. Compare 1 *Chron.* iv. 4.

<sup>7</sup> "And Ashur the father of Tekoa had two wives, Helah and Naarah."—1 *Chron.* iv. 5.

<sup>8</sup> "And the sons of Becher, Zemira, and Joash, and Eliezer, and

sis<sup>1</sup>. It is clear from these examples how easily such registers of names could be constructed, to suit the pleasure of the writer, and could be carried backwards as far as it might seem necessary,—a process which has long been familiar to the Brahmins of India. The most learned apologist for the Chronicles goes so far as to admit that authors in ancient times allowed themselves great license in the construction of their tables of genealogy, and that the variations can only be explained by the supposition that the whole has been compiled from a number of different authorities; he believes that the Chronicles give us these tables exactly as they found them; though it cannot be denied that, in some instances, even uncommon names are repeated in the same order at different times or under different circumstances<sup>2</sup>. So that, in this as in every other instance, the Pentateuch would appear to gain very little by the support it derives from the Chronicles.

Elioenai, and Omri, and Jerimoth, and Abiah, and Anathoth, and Alo-meth. All these are the sons of Becher.”—1 *Chron.* vii. 8.

<sup>1</sup> “The sons also of Jediahel; Bilhan: and the sons of Bilhan; Jeush, and Benjamin, and Ehud, and Chenaanah, and Zethan, and Tharshish, and Ahishashar.”—1 *Chron.* vii. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Movers, pages 81, 235, 237.



## CHAPTER XVII.

## THE PROPHETS AND THEIR PROPHECIES.

WE have attempted, in the preceding chapter, to sketch from Hebrew history a brief outline of the progress of the priesthood. We have shown that, in the first instance, the priestly dignity was combined with secular authority, and that it remained so connected, in accordance with ancient custom and with the uniform practice of the patriarchal age; that under Samuel it assumed a more independent form, and thenceforth in the progress of time it grew up into a regular hierarchy. But with this remarkable man, who may be justly regarded as having given the first impulse to the spiritual culture of the Hebrews, a new prophetic element makes its earliest appearance in their history; and, before proceeding further, we must devote a few pages to a brief consideration of its nature.

In ancient as in modern times it has been the uniform and very natural practice of princes in the East to employ the wisest of their subjects as their counsellors, poets, and bards, and as the recognized interpreters of the sovereign will of Heaven,—all which ideas are combined in the Hebrew word *nabi*<sup>1</sup> [or prophet]. The Indian monarchs

<sup>1</sup> Compare Exod. vii. 1, xv. 20, &c. :—

“And the Lord said unto Moses, See, I have made thee a god to Pharaoh: and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet.”—*Exod.* vii. 1.

“And Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in

maintained their peculiar court-bards (*vaitalikds*) for this especial purpose; but, in addition to these paid eulogists and monitors, the holy penitents, who discharged a similar office, ought also to be mentioned. In Persia the Saadi, and more particularly the ascetics not belonging to the priesthood, were animated by a kindred spirit, and the caliph Haroun is even said to have eagerly sought these preachers of repentance, in the hope of being warned or moved by their political and religious exhortations<sup>1</sup>. When a powerful priesthood is seeking to obtain a political supremacy, these religious poets (who by the purity of their views are best fitted to elevate the popular belief,) are generally to be found in direct opposition to the sacerdotal spirit; they strive to resist its overgrown pretensions, whenever these are exclusively directed either to the mere externals of religion or to the acquisition of power. Thus the later Hebrew prophets stand as mediators between the throne and the sacerdotal caste; thus too, in the collection of ancient Indian fables (called the *Hitopadesa*) intended for the instruction of their princes, and in other ethical works of that nation, we not unfrequently detect a direct opposition to the settled institutes of Brahminism.

At its first commencement however, before the prophetic office assumed this character among the Hebrews, or reached the high and peculiar dignity it afterwards acquired, there are only two facts which can be deduced, with any certainty, from the obscure allusions and scanty evidence of their early history: first, that it was originally combined

her hand; and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances."—*Exod.* xv. 20.

<sup>1</sup> See Kosegarten, *Chrest. Arab.* p. 35, &c. Gesenius on *Isaiah* i. 23.

with the priesthood, as it was most completely in the person of Samuel himself, who, in accordance with the early signification of a *Nabi*, makes his appearance as a holy seer<sup>1</sup> consecrated to the service of Jehovah; and secondly that, —in addition to auguries, the observance of times and other traces of a fully organized Sabæism which the law expressly condemns<sup>2</sup>, —the existence of similar seers and diviners is clearly implied among the neighbouring tribes of Palestine<sup>3</sup>, not only in single instances like that of Balaam amongst the Moabites, but even in whole bands, like the prophets of Belus and Astarte at a somewhat later period<sup>4</sup>.

Samuel, we are told, was dedicated to Jehovah as a Nazarene by his mother for ever<sup>5</sup>; and it is clear from this cir-

<sup>1</sup> *Ro'eh*, which, previous to this time, had been the name of a *Nabi*:—"Beforetime in Israel, when a man went to enquire of God, thus he spake, Come, and let us go to the seer: for he that is now called a Prophet was beforetime called a Seer."—1 *Sam.* ix. 9.

<sup>2</sup> "Neither shall ye use enchantment, nor observe times."—*Lev.* xix. 26.

"When thou art come into the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not learn to do after the abominations of those nations."—*Deut.* xviii. 9.

<sup>3</sup> "For these nations, which thou shalt possess, hearkened unto the observers of times, and unto diviners: but as for thee, the Lord thy God hath not suffered thee so to do."—*Deut.* xviii. 14.

<sup>4</sup> "And he answered, I have not troubled Israel; but thou, and thy father's house, in that ye have forsaken the commandments of the Lord, and thou hast followed Baalim."—1 *Kings* xviii. 19.

"Now therefore call unto me all the prophets of Baal, all his servants, and all his priests; let none be wanting: for I have a great sacrifice to do to Baal; whosoever shall be wanting, he shall not live. But Jehu did it in subtilty, to the intent that he might destroy the worshipers of Baal."—2 *Kings* x. 19.

<sup>5</sup> "And she vowed a vow, and said, O Lord of hosts, if thou wilt indeed look on the affliction of thine handmaid, and remember me, and not forget thine handmaid, but wilt give unto thine handmaid a man-

cumstance, as well as from the official dress and the mode of life of the later prophets, that a tendency towards asceticism was a fundamental feature in their character, as it is to this day among the holy sages and inspired devotees of India, who wander from place to place and exercise considerable influence both on prince and people. It is with similar authority, nay even with a kind of fanaticism, that Samuel commences his career: he hews in pieces Agag the king of the Amalekites before the Lord at Gilgal<sup>1</sup>; the people fear him, and the elders of Bethlehem tremble at his coming<sup>2</sup>. He endeavours to combat the popular desire for a king, but eventually fixes on an individual who is to all appearance an unimportant shepherd, engaged in seeking his father's stray asses; he keeps him under his control, directs and blames him, urges him to war, finally rejects him when he acts with too much energy, and chooses in his stead a second shepherd (David), whom we find at a later period under the guidance of the prophet Gad<sup>3</sup>. Nathan is charged with the education of Solomon, gives him his counsel and persuades him to build the temple, while the

child, then I will give him unto the Lord all the days of his life, and there shall no razor come upon his head.....But Hannah went not up; for she said unto her husband, I will not go up until the child be weaned, and then I will bring him, that he may appear before the Lord, and there abide for ever."—1 *Sam.* i. 11, 22.

<sup>1</sup> "And Samuel said, As thy sword hath made women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among women. And Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal."—1 *Sam.* xv. 33. Compare 1 *Kings* xviii. of Elijah.

<sup>2</sup> "And Samuel did that which the Lord spake, and came to Bethlehem. And the elders of the town trembled at his coming, and said, Comest thou peaceably?"—1 *Sam.* xvi. 4.

<sup>3</sup> "For when David was up in the morning, the word of the Lord came unto the prophet Gad, David's seer."—2 *Sam.* xxiv. 11.

prophet Ahijah endeavours to excite Jeroboam<sup>1</sup>. Though the individuals we have mentioned were sufficiently distinguished from the priests officiating at the sacrifices, by their assumption of spiritual power as the proclaimers of the Divine will, yet the name of priest was still applied, and, it would seem, with equal propriety, to both<sup>2</sup>. Nathan is expressly termed a *priest*<sup>3</sup>, while David on the other hand calls Zadok a *seer*<sup>4</sup>.

The prophets were generally found at the places which were accounted the most holy; thus, for instance, Ahijah was at Shiloh, even after the building of the temple<sup>5</sup>; occasionally they assembled in companies (as when Samuel appeared at their head), uttering prophecies to the sound of music<sup>6</sup>. But at that time the whole institution would

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xi. 26—40.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the following verses :—

“And I will raise me up a faithful priest, that shall do according to that that is in mine heart and in my mind : and I will build him a sure house ; and he shall walk before mine Anointed for ever.”—1 Sam. ii. 35.

“And all Israel, from Dan even to Beer-sheba, know that Samuel was established to be a prophet of the Lord.”—1 Sam. iii. 20.

<sup>3</sup> “Zabud the son of Nathan the priest was the king’s friend.”—1 Kings iv. 5. [From Luther’s translation.]

<sup>4</sup> “The king said also unto Zadok the priest, Art thou not a seer, return into the city in peace, and your two sons with you.”—2 Sam. xv. 27.

<sup>5</sup> “And Jeroboam said to his wife, Arise, I pray thee, and disguise thyself, that thou be not known to be the wife of Jeroboam ; and get thee to Shiloh : behold, there is Ahijah the prophet, which told me that I should be king over this people.”—1 Kings xiv. 2.

<sup>6</sup> “After that thou shalt come to the hill of God, where is the garrison of the Philistines : and it shall come to pass, when thou art come thither to the city, that thou shalt meet a company of prophets coming down from the high place with a psaltery, and a tabret, and a pipe, and a harp, before them ; and they shall prophesy.”—1 Sam. x. 5.

“And Saul sent messengers to take David : and when they saw the company of the prophets prophesying, and Samuel standing as appointed

seem to have been in its infancy, and Samuel himself had evidently not assumed a distinguishing dress, since he was not recognized by Saul when he was in search of him<sup>1</sup>. Moreover it is expressly stated, with reference to the time of Eli, that in those days no prophecy was given<sup>2</sup>. Again, no one could hope to receive an answer unless he brought a present in his hand for the seer<sup>3</sup>; and to consult him was considered so important, that it was termed, in the popular language, 'to inquire of God,' and was usual on private<sup>4</sup> as well as on public occasions. The answer of the oracle was evidently directed by the prophet, and thus the lot fell on Saul, after he had been already chosen as the king by Samuel<sup>5</sup>. Hence it appears that the history of Hebrew prophecy may be compared, in its general features, with that of the oracles of the ancient Greeks. In both cases the responses and decisions were originally directed for the advancement of the public good, or, according to the expression of the Grecian myth, were dictated by Themis (or Justice) herself; whereas in later times deceit

over them, the Spirit of God was upon the messengers of Saul, and they also prophesied."—1 Sam. xix. 20.

<sup>1</sup> "Then Saul drew near to Samuel in the gate, and said, Tell me, I pray thee, where the seer's house is."—1 Sam. ix. 18.

<sup>2</sup> "The word of the Lord was precious in those days; there was no open vision."—*'ein chazon niphra'* [no divine revelation: Gesenius, Lex. art. *chazon*.]—1 Sam. iii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> "Then said Saul to his servant, But, behold, if we go, what shall we bring the man? for the bread is spent in our vessels, and there is not a present to bring to the man of God: what have we?"—1 Sam. ix. 7.

<sup>4</sup> "And the asses of Kish Saul's father were lost. And Kish said to Saul his son, Take one of the servants with thee, and arise, go seek the asses."—1 Sam. ix. 3.

<sup>5</sup> "And when Samuel had caused all the tribes of Israel to come near, the tribe of Benjamin was taken. When he had caused the tribe of Benjamin to come near by their families, the family of Matri was taken, and Saul the son of Kish was taken."—1 Sam. x. 20, 21.

and corruption too often usurped her place ; for as Kleomenes among the Greeks, and subsequently the relatives of Pausanias and Lysander, succeeded in bribing the Delphian oracle,—as Alexander dragged the reluctant Pythian priestess to the tripod, and Demosthenes openly accused her of “Philippizing,”—so in like manner the later Hebrews complained of false prophets who sold their oracles for money<sup>1</sup>.

The prophets, whose inspired discourses are preserved to us, appeared, almost without exception, in the reigns of pious princes who were zealously engaged under their advice in purifying the popular worship. Thus under Hezekiah, or immediately before him, we find Hosea, Joel, Isaiah, Micah, and perhaps Nahum and the original Zachariah ; and under Josiah, after the interval of almost a century, we hear of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Obadiah, Habakkuk and Zephaniah. These two periods may be justly regarded as the most brilliant and critical æras in the history of Hebrew civilization, for everything great and good which the nation has accomplished (and their achievements have not been slight) may be traced to the early influence of prophecy.

<sup>1</sup> “Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel ; Let not your prophets and your diviners, that be in the midst of you, deceive you, neither hearken to your dreams, which ye cause to be dreamed. For they prophecy falsely unto you in my name : I have not sent them, saith the Lord.”—*Jerem.* xxix. 8, 9.

“And the elders of Moab and the elders of Midian departed with the rewards of divination in their hand ; and they came unto Balaam, and spake unto him the words of Balak.”—*Num.* xxii. 7.

“And Balaam said unto Balak, Spake I not also to thy messengers which thou sentest unto me, saying, If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the commandment of the Lord, to do either good or bad of mine own mind ; but what the Lord saith, that will I speak ?”—*Num.* xxiv. 12, 13.

See also many other passages.

The bright prophetic waters, however, after gradually emerging from polytheism, flow smoothly and peacefully onward to the full perception of the truth, without receiving the slightest impression from the laws and ordinances of the Pentateuch.

Prevailing ideas respecting the predictions of the Hebrew prophets are generally so incorrect, and so much influenced by religious prejudice, that Jahn actually brings himself to declare, that "he will not enter into any historical or critical discussion with an author who does not admit that there are any true prophecies." In this work we are especially bound to devote considerable attention to the prophetic writings, as they form a natural transition to similar prophecies in the Pentateuch, and they present in some measure a standard with which we can compare those prophecies.

Every prediction, whether more or less *precise*, which is fulfilled in the same sense in which it was originally uttered, and for the same reasons that were originally assigned, yields a certain presumption of the reality of the fact it describes, and defines the date of the writing which contains it; for it could not have been committed to writing at a later period than that in which its fulfilment might have been foreseen, or in which it had already taken place; and, in the latter case, the narrator must have lived a sufficient time after the date of the fact, to enable him to gain credence for his prophecy. If in any instance some international crisis could have been dimly foreseen, it must be remembered that no individual would have ventured openly to predict it, until one nation had actually assumed a threatening aspect towards another; and when such a conjuncture arrived, the political seers gave utterance to



their hopes and fears as to the immediate issue, and were not unfrequently completely deceived in their expectations.

The following rules may be laid down as the fundamental principles of interpretation, which ought to be strictly observed in the explanation of the Hebrew prophecies:— 1st, That their interpretation must be derived solely from the circumstances of the time in which they were delivered; 2nd, That whatever circumstances explain a prophet's meaning also belong to the time in which he lived; and 3rd, That the fulfilment of each prophecy must not be anxiously sought for in history, unless it can be proved from clear internal evidence that the prophecy was copied from the circumstances of the time in which it was fulfilled<sup>1</sup>.

We shall now proceed, after the example of Gesenius, to enumerate some prophecies which have never been fulfilled. 1.) "The prophecy of the devastation of Judah by the Assyrians and Egyptians was not fulfilled at the specified time, although the threats of the prophet were subsequently justified by a succession of unfortunate events<sup>2</sup>." 2.) The complete desolation and destruction of Babylon by the Medes and Persians did not take place suddenly, but was rather the work of time<sup>3</sup>. 3.) The denunciations against the Moabites were not fulfilled to the whole extent of the prophecy<sup>4</sup>. 4.) The threatened destruction of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar was not fulfilled in the way which had been foretold by Ezekiel<sup>5</sup>. 5.) The siege of Jerusalem by

<sup>1</sup> See the admirable observations of Hitzig on this subject, in his work on Isaiah, p. 466.

<sup>2</sup> Gesenius on Isaiah vii. p. 270.

<sup>3</sup> Gesenius on Isaiah xiii. p. 449.

<sup>4</sup> Gesenius on Isaiah xv.

<sup>5</sup> Ezek. xxvi.—xxviii. Gesenius on Isaiah xxiii. p. 711. Hitzig, p. 273.

the Assyrians did not actually take place<sup>1</sup>, nor 6.) were the Idumæans ever utterly ruined and extirpated<sup>2</sup>, for even Herod the Great belonged to the Edomitish nation. 7.) Gaza, the city of the Philistines, was repeatedly doomed to destruction<sup>3</sup>, and yet it exists to the present day, so that even St. Jerome was obliged to create an older Gaza, in opposition to all history, in order to maintain the authority of the ancient prophets. 8.) The predicted union of Judah and Israel never took place<sup>4</sup>. 9.) The general expectation that the Hebrews would conquer Gog and Magog<sup>5</sup> was never fulfilled; and 10.) the common hope of the Jews, that after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (B.C. 170) they would become the sovereigns of the world<sup>6</sup>, was also never realized.

There is little difference between these prophecies (which

<sup>1</sup> Gesenius on Isaiah xxix. p. 827.

<sup>2</sup> Gesenius on Isaiah xxxiv. p. 909, compared with Obadiah and Jerem. xlix.

<sup>3</sup> "Thus saith the Lord; for three transgressions of Gaza, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they carried away captive the whole captivity, to deliver them up to Edom."—*Amos* i. 6.

"For Gaza shall be forsaken, and Ashkelon a desolation: they shall drive out Ashdod at the noon-day, and Ekron shall be rooted up."—*Zeph.* ii. 4.

"Ashkelon shall see it, and fear; Gaza also shall see it, and be very sorrowful, and Ekron; for her expectation shall be ashamed; and the king shall perish from Gaza, and Ashkelon shall not be inhabited."—*Zach.* ix. 5.

"The word of the Lord that came to Jeremiah the prophet against the Philistines, before that Pharaoh smote Gaza."—*Jerem.* xlvii. 1, &c.

<sup>4</sup> "And I will make them one nation in the land upon the mountains of Israel; and one king shall be king to them all: and they shall be no more two nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms any more at all."—*Ezek.* xxxvii. 22.

<sup>5</sup> *Ezekiel* xxxix.

<sup>6</sup> See *Daniel* ii. vii.-ix.

contain abundance of general threats, warnings, and consolations) and the blessings and predictions of the Pentateuch; and in these latter, allusions to political events deserve the more attention, when they appear not to have any particular object in view.

The pious anticipations of a glorious future, which are called the Messianic prophecies, only begin to appear with the decline of the Hebrew nation, and in their case the miraculous foundation creates a suspicion as to the facts connected with them. These prophecies were necessary for the theocratical interest of the epic, but they commonly refute themselves by too minute a detail of subsequent events<sup>1</sup>.

A prophetic form of language was one to which the ancient world in general was remarkably partial, and the Hindoos freely confess that they have put descriptions of later events into the mouths of their own most celebrated sages<sup>2</sup>. Virgil in like manner represents Jupiter as disclosing to Venus the future destiny of the Romans, and as predicting their brilliant deeds (in the first book of the *Æneid*) with a special reference to the times of Augustus<sup>3</sup>.

"Nascetur pulchra Trojanus origine Cæsar,  
Imperium oceano, famam qui terminet astris,  
Julius."

The prophecy is still more precise in the sixth *Æneid*, 750-787, where it is uttered by the lips of a mortal (An-

<sup>1</sup> See Ammon *De Vaticiniis post Eventum* (On Prophecies after the Event). Hartmann, *Pentateuch*, p. 505.

<sup>2</sup> See *Asiat. Res.* viii. p. 486.

<sup>3</sup> *Æn.* i. 260-300. [Julius Cæsar shall be born of illustrious Trojan origin; his empire shall only be limited by the ocean, and his fame by the stars.]

chises), and in *Æn.* viii. 625, &c., where Vulcan prefigures on a shield the whole course of the Roman history<sup>1</sup>.

“ Illic res Italas Romanorumque triumphos,  
Haud vaturn ignarus venturique inscius ævi,  
Fecerat Ignipotens ; illic genus omne futuræ  
Stirpis ab Ascanio, pugnataque in ordine bella,” &c.

And in the case of the Hebrew nation, if it be supposed that, whilst that people were still almost in their infancy, they could have formed such brilliant conceptions of the future as the patriarchs disclose to us in the Pentateuch, the narrator at least would have been wise enough to wait until their hopes had been realized. Besides, in all other nations, it has happened that the advance has been made in the later periods of their history ; and poets have never begun to celebrate the deeds of their nation, or to attribute to their ancestors prophetic visions of its glory, until it had already attained to grandeur and distinction<sup>2</sup> ; but it is in the Pentateuch alone (deeply impressed as it is with the stamp of national pride), that we are called upon to believe, that in the first instance mere shepherds and afterwards the leader of a wandering multitude were able to penetrate into the future with the glance of the Deity. The particular prophecies of Genesis will be noticed in their proper place, and a striking example of the prophetic predictions in the Pentateuch is given in the prophecy of Balaam<sup>3</sup>. The Israelites were then encamped on the *further* side of the Jordan, and were threatening an attack on Balak the king of the Moabites, who thereupon summons his prophet Balaam to curse the tents of

<sup>1</sup> Compare, under a similar form, Ovid, *Metamorph.* xv. 814-842.

<sup>2</sup> Hartmann, 311, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Num. xxii.-xxiv.

Israel; but the angel of the Deity appears to the seer, who is thus compelled to bless instead of cursing them, and he next proceeds to sketch in a brief manner the future destinies of the people. He prophesies for Israel a "king that shall be higher than Agag<sup>1</sup>" (in allusion to Saul who conquered Agag, king of the Amalekites<sup>2</sup>); he predicts that a prince would succeed him who should conquer the Moabites and Edomites<sup>3</sup> (which actually happened under David<sup>4</sup>); he also foretells the Assyrian captivity<sup>5</sup>, and finally he prophesies that ships from Chittim would afflict Asshur<sup>6</sup>. This is the termination of the prediction, and it refers, according to the admirable explanation of Hitzig, to whom we are indebted for the first solution of the difficulty<sup>7</sup>, to the invasion of Cilicia by the Greeks (B.C. 710.) with a fleet from Cyprus. The Assyrians advanced to attack them, but were repulsed with great loss, which was a determinate and very important event, and must have been of great consequence to the Jews as they were themselves sufferers in common with the Assyrians.

Now the prophet Micah, who lived in the reign of Hezekiah, or very soon after this period, (and therefore before

<sup>1</sup> "His king shall be higher than Agag, and his kingdom shall be exalted."—*Num.* xxiv. 7.

<sup>2</sup> And Saul smote the Amalekites from Havilah until thou comest to Shur, that is over against Egypt."—*1 Sam.* xv. 7.

<sup>3</sup> "There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel, and shall smite the corners of Moab, and destroy all the children of Sheth."—*Num.* xxiv. 17.

<sup>4</sup> See De Wette, *Krit.* p. 364.

<sup>5</sup> "The Kenite shall be wasted, until Asshur shall carry thee away captive."—*Num.* xxiv. 22.

<sup>6</sup> "Ships shall come from the coast of Chittim, and shall afflict Asshur, and shall afflict Eber, and he also shall perish for ever."—*Num.* xxiv. 24.

<sup>7</sup> *Kritik*, p. 54, &c.

B.C. 698), was acquainted with this prophecy of Balaam<sup>1</sup>; and thus it appears that this passage may be fully explained, although Bertholdt considered it as an interpolation, and referred it to the time of Alexander. The author of the Pentateuch had previously introduced into his work an ancient poem<sup>2</sup> belonging to the brightest period of the Hebrew history, and had applied it to the purposes of his epic: with a similar object he afterwards introduced the prophecy of Balaam, and certainly nothing could have better conduced to the glorification of Israel than to have had her triumphs celebrated in this manner by a foreign seer.

<sup>1</sup> "O my people, remember now what Balak king of Moab consulted, and what Balaam the son of Beor answered him from Shittim unto Gilgal; that ye may know the righteousness of the Lord."—*Micah* vi. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xlix. [The description of the twelve tribes in the blessing of Jacob.]

## CHAPTER XVIII.

THE WEEK, THE SABBATH, AND THE THREE ANNUAL  
FEASTS OF THE HEBREWS.

HEBREW festivals are still brought forward to prove the high antiquity of the Pentateuch, but it will be found on examination that these festivals, as well as other arrangements derived from the ancient calendar, and which may be properly termed astronomical arguments, are in reality peculiarly well fitted to authenticate the later date of the writings in question.

Periodical cycles, and especially that of the week, are the first to claim our attention, though we must not repeat here all that we have already said in a former work on Ancient India<sup>1</sup>. The short weekly period, with the rest on the seventh day, is not so peculiar to the Hebrews as De Wette has imagined<sup>2</sup>, but belongs to many Sabæan religions of antiquity, and is evidently founded on that knowledge of the planets which gave to the number seven so important a character among the eastern nations. It further appears, that in every instance the days succeed each other exactly in the same order,—a coincidence which can only be explained by the influence of eastern astrology; but such a succession must clearly have been

<sup>1</sup> See Von Bohlen, *Alt. Indien*, ii. 244, and the Appendix to this volume.

<sup>2</sup> *Archäolog.* § 214.

communicated from some *one* people, and it only remains for us to choose, according to the best evidence the case will allow, between the Hindoos, the Chaldæans, and the Egyptians. The particular day regarded as especially sacred varied among different nations, according to the heavenly body to whose worship they were especially attached. In most nations the day was that dedicated to the Sun, but among the ancient Arabs it was that dedicated to Venus, in whose honour young virgins were exposed and human sacrifices were offered down to the time of Heraclius<sup>1</sup>; and among the Egyptians and Phœnicians the most sacred day was dedicated to Saturn, who was called Rempah, or the *Heavenly*. To this planet a beneficent influence was originally ascribed as the inventor of agriculture and the god of justice, from whence he received his Semitic name of Kiun [or Chiun], *the Just*<sup>2</sup>. He was for a long period the guardian of the Caaba at Mecca<sup>3</sup>; the Tyrians sacrificed boys to him<sup>4</sup>, and even the Hebrews had devoted themselves to his service<sup>5</sup>. Lastly, the Hebrews adopted the day of Saturn, and, without making any concession to idolatrous worship, it was beautifully ordained by Moses

<sup>1</sup> See Porphyrius de Abstin. ii. 56. Eutych. Zygabenus. "The Saracens [or Arabs] adored idols until the time of king Heraclius, worshipping Lucifer, the Morning Star, and Venus, whom they called, in their own language, *Chabar*, which word means 'the great,' i. e. in Arabic *Chabir*." Compare further Abutaleb, edit. by Norberg in the Onomast. Cod. Nasir, pp. 4, 10, 30, 78, 97, 138, and Pococke, Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 90, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Curtius, iv. 15. Eusebius Præp. Evang. i. 10, and Das Saturninische Zeitalter (The Age of Saturn).

<sup>3</sup> See Pococke, Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 140.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Genesis xxii. [the offering up of Isaac.]

<sup>5</sup> "Ye have borne the tabernacle of your Moloch and Chiun your images, the star of your god, which ye made to yourselves."—*Amos* v. 26.



that this day should be set apart for what was called a national memorial of the bondage in Egypt<sup>1</sup>. This, however, is a mode of explaining the origin of the week which betrays the comparatively recent date of the poem of the creation in Genesis<sup>2</sup>, and is completely opposed to the whole of the remainder of that book; for Genesis continually brings the week before the reader, and even mentions it by its peculiar name of *shevua*<sup>3</sup>. But if the institution of the sabbath, like many others, was borrowed from foreign nations, we may gather from the earliest passages that make mention of it, that it only found admission by degrees, and that it was not finally established until about the time of Hezekiah. The people were partial to the sabbath as a kind of market-day, and the worship of Jehovah did not derive much advantage from it, because on such a day the intercourse with the Phœnicians was naturally more unrestrained<sup>4</sup>. Hence the very first men-

<sup>1</sup> "And remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence through a mighty hand and by a stretched-out arm: therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath-day."—*Deut.* v. 15.

"Moreover also I gave them my sabbaths, to be a sign between me and them, that they might know that I am the Lord that sanctify them."—*Ezek.* xx. 12.

"And madest known unto them thy holy sabbath, and commandedst them precepts, statutes, and laws, by the hand of Moses thy servant."—*Nehemiah* ix. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, chap. i.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Gen. vii. 4, [in the account of the deluge] "(at) seven days (*le-yamim shiv'ah*)," and 10, "after seven (the) days, (*le-shiv'ath ha-yamim*);" viii. 10 & 12, "seven days, (*shiv'ath yamim*);" xxix. 27, "week, (*shevua*)."

<sup>4</sup> Compare the following verses:—

"Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting."—*Isaiah* i. 13.

"I will also cause all her mirth to cease, her feast days, her

tion of the sabbath is couched in terms of censure, without the most distant allusion to the tables of stone or to the account of the creation of the world, neither of which could at that time have been present to the prophet, nor could they have given their solemn sanction to the holiness of the day.

This view is further confirmed by a subsequent passage in Jeremiah<sup>1</sup>, although in his day the sabbath was already set apart for worship. The other passage from the Chronicles, and the superscription of Psalm xcii., which are adduced by Jahn<sup>2</sup>, are of much too recent a date to lend any support to his argument.

On the observance of the sabbath were founded what was called the sabbatical year and also the year of jubilee, —institutions which astonish Gatterer with the astronomical knowledge of Moses<sup>3</sup>. The first of these was celebrated every seventh year, and during it every kind of work with the exception of agriculture was forbidden, and produce which grew of its own accord belonged to the slaves<sup>4</sup>. The opinions entertained of this law have been

new moons, and her sabbaths, and all her solemn feasts."—*Hosea* ii. 11.

"Saying, When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the sabbath, that we may set forth wheat, making the ephah small, and the shekel great, and falsifying the balances by deceit?"—*Amos* viii. 5.

<sup>1</sup> "Thus saith the Lord; Take heed to yourselves, and bear no burden on the sabbath-day, nor bring it in by the gates of Jerusalem."—*Jeremiah* xvii. 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Introd.* ii. 29. [A psalm or song for the sabbath day, Ps. xcii.]

<sup>3</sup> *Abriss der Chronologie* (Sketch of Chronology), p. 150.

<sup>4</sup> "Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When ye come into the land which I give you, then shall the land keep a sabbath unto the Lord."—*Lev.* xxv. 2.

"And six years thou shalt sow thy land, and shalt gather in the

remarkably different;—Tacitus was acquainted with it, and he ascribes it to mere indolence<sup>1</sup>. Michaelis traces an economical purpose in this law, that the land might be allowed to lie fallow, whilst Hug would persuade us that a problem has here been solved which has baffled the wisdom of all the greatest lawgivers<sup>2</sup>. We must not, however, allow ourselves to be misled by opinions such as these, which proceed from a veneration for everything Jewish; and we must recollect that in a land like Palestine, which only yields a return to the most untiring industry and so frequently suffers from scarcity, such a law as this, however favoured by the aversion of the Israelites to husbandry, could not possibly have been observed. History too assures us that this ideal extension of the sabbath to the sabbatical year, which may safely be ascribed to the priests, was wholly unknown down to the time of the Captivity, and we are told by Jeremiah that the emancipation of the slaves was first practised in his time<sup>3</sup>. It was enjoined that during this solemn year the law should be

fruits thereof: But the seventh year thou shalt let it rest and lie still; that the poor of thy people may eat: and what they leave the beasts of the field shall eat. In like manner thou shalt deal with thy vineyard, and with thy olive-yard.”—*Exod.* xxiii. 10, 11.

<sup>1</sup> “Septimo die otium placuisse ferunt; quia is finem laborum tulerit; dein, blandiente inertia, septimum quoque annum ignavia datum. Alii, honorem eum Saturno haberi: seu principia religionis tradentibus Idæis, quos cum Saturno pulsos et conditores gentis accepimus, seu quod e septem sideribus, quibus mortales reguntur, altissimo orbe et præcipuâ potentia stella Saturni feratur; ac pleraque cœlestium vim suam et cursum septimos per numeros conficiant. Hi ritus, quoquo modo inducti, antiquitate defenduntur.”—*Tacitus, Hist.* v. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitschrift für die Geistlichkeit des Erzbisth. Freiburg* (Journal for the Clergy of the Archbishopric of Freiburg), i. 1.

<sup>3</sup> “This is the word that came unto Jeremiah from the Lord, after that the king Zedekiah had made a covenant with all the people which were at Jerusalem, to proclaim liberty unto them.”—*Jerem.* xxxiv. 8.

publicly read<sup>1</sup>, and yet this injunction was never complied with until the time of Nehemiah<sup>2</sup>; and finally, the period of the exile is considered as a sabbatical year, during which the land enjoyed its rest, *because it could not rest when the people dwelt upon it*<sup>3</sup>. Under Antiochus the law of the sabbatical year was actually put into practice; but it is added, that the inhabitants of Bethsura could not remain in the land on account of the famine<sup>4</sup>.

After the expiration of seven sabbath years, or, in other words, every fiftieth year, the whole land was to enjoy a sabbath of a still more solemn kind, which was called the jubilee (probably from the jubilee trumpets), and at this period all labour would have been suspended for two whole years in succession<sup>5</sup>. At this time also all hereditary pos-

<sup>1</sup> "And Moses commanded them, saying, At the end of every seven years, in the solemnity of the year of release, in the feast of tabernacles, when all Israel is come to appear before the Lord thy God in the place which he shall choose, thou shalt read this law before all Israel in their hearing."—*Deut.* xxxi. 10, 11.

<sup>2</sup> "Also day by day, from the first day unto the last day, he read in the book of the law of God. And they kept the feast seven days; and on the eighth day was a solemn assembly, according unto the manner."—*Nehem.* viii. 18.

<sup>3</sup> "As long as it lieth desolate it shall rest; because it could not rest when you should have let it rest, when you dwelt upon it." [Luther's translation.]—*Lev.* xxvi. 35. [*Esher lo shabetha beshabbetho theykem beshibthehem* "aleyha.]

"As long as she [the land] lay desolate she kept sabbath, to fulfil three-score and ten years."—*2 Chron.* xxxvi. 21.

The comparison of these two passages together will supply the best commentary on each of them.

<sup>4</sup> "But with them that were in Bethsura he made peace: for they came out of the city, because they had no victuals there, to endure the siege, it being a year of rest to the land."—*1 Maccabees* vi. 49.

<sup>5</sup> "And thou shalt number seven sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years; and the space of the seven sabbaths of years shall be unto thee forty and nine years."—*Levit.* xxv. 8.

sessions were to revert to the original families, so that the chief object here, as in the system of Lycurgus, would seem to have been to establish the impracticability of the permanent alienation of land; but in this case it was founded on a theocratical principle, for Jehovah was considered to be the owner of the soil, and the Israelites were regarded as if they were only his tenants<sup>1</sup>. Yet the sale of land is frequently mentioned<sup>2</sup>, and the law of the year of jubilee was never put in force<sup>3</sup>.

Before the Babylonish exile, the simple lunar year was adopted by the Hebrews, as by most other Semitic nations, and the time of the barley harvest, in the month Abib, or April, was fixed by the law for its commencement even whilst they were in Egypt<sup>4</sup>; but it is probable that this law was itself first made in Palestine, where the barley comes

<sup>1</sup> "The land shall not be sold for ever; for the land is mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me."—*Levit.* xxv. 23.

<sup>2</sup> "And Ahab spake unto Naboth, saying, Give me thy vineyard, that I may have it for a garden of herbs, because it is near unto my house: and I will give thee for it a better vineyard than it; or, if it seem good to thee, I will give thee the worth of it in money."—*1 Kings* xxi. 2.

"Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth!"—*Isaiah* v. 8. See Gesenius.

<sup>3</sup> See Michaelis, *Mos. Recht* (Law of Moses), ii. § 76, p. 68, &c. Winer, *Dict. of Bible*, art. *Jubeljahr* (year of jubilee.)

<sup>4</sup> "This month shall be unto you the beginning of months: it shall be the first month of the year to you."—*Exod.* xii. 2.

"This day came ye out in the month Abib."—*Exod.* xiii. 4.

"Thou shalt keep the feast of unleavened bread: (thou shalt eat unleavened bread seven days, as I commanded thee, in the time appointed of the month Abib; for in it thou camest out from Egypt: and none shall appear before me empty."—*Exod.* xxiii. 15.

"The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep. Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, as I commanded thee, in the time of the

to maturity at the beginning of April<sup>1</sup>. The regular solar year of 365 days necessarily presupposes considerable progress in astronomy, and only makes its first appearance in history among the Chaldæans, after the æra of Nabonassar (B.C. 746). It is however a remarkable fact, that this solar year lies at the very foundation of the Scriptural account of the deluge, and forms one of the many inconsistencies into which the narrator has been betrayed<sup>2</sup>.

Finally, the Pentateuch appoints three principal feasts<sup>3</sup>, the least important of which is the feast of the first-fruits of the field, called also the feast of weeks, or the Pentecost. The Passover was celebrated on the fourteenth day of the first month, Abib, and the feast of Tabernacles on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, Tisri; and these two feasts will require our particular attention, for they are uniformly found in all the Sabæan religions, as a part of their primitive calendar, and as instituted originally in honour of the Sun at his passage through the vernal and autumnal equinox<sup>4</sup>, and both of them were converted by the Hebrews into memorials of national events. Both

month Abib: for in the month Abib thou camest out from Egypt."—*Exod.* xxxiv. 18.

"Observe the month of Abib, and keep the passover unto the Lord thy God: for in the month of Abib the Lord thy God brought thee forth out of Egypt by night."—*Deut.* xvi. 1.

<sup>1</sup> See Ideler, *Handb. der Chronol.* p. 487.

<sup>2</sup> See concluding observations on *Genes.* vi.

<sup>3</sup> "Three times thou shalt keep a feast unto me in the year."—*Exod.* xxiii. 14.

"In the fourteenth day of the first month at even is the Lord's passover."—*Lev.* xxiii. 5.

"Thou shalt observe the feast of tabernacles seven days, after that thou hast gathered in thy corn and thy wine."—*Deut.* xvi. 13.

<sup>4</sup> See Böttiger, *Andeutungen zu einer Kunstmythol.* (Hints on the Mythology of Art), p. 148.

feasts may therefore be very ancient, although it is not manifest to what periodical festivals Isaiah refers, in the 29th chapter, verse 1<sup>1</sup>, and still less whether the prophet Joel expressly alludes, as Credner believes, to the feast of Tabernacles. The manner, however, in which they were solemnized, the sacrifices that predominated on those occasions, and the other Levitical enactments, were exclusively connected with the locality of Palestine, and must have had their first existence in that country. The autumnal festival was of a simple kind, and was the natural expression of gratitude for the harvest, "after they had gathered in from the threshing-floor and the wine-press;" it is however encumbered [in the Pentateuch] with the injunction, that all the people should dwell for seven days in booths<sup>2</sup> or tabernacles, in remembrance of their wandering in the wilderness; and besides, this injunction is given on Mount Sinai, before their wandering commenced. Yet we read for the first time in Nehemiah that the congregation had made themselves such booths<sup>3</sup>, and he remarks, that "since the days of Joshua unto that day had not the children of Israel done so;" to which we may add that the author

<sup>1</sup> "You observe seasons and you celebrate festivals." (Luther's translation.)—*Isaiah* xxix. 1. Credner on Joel i. 14; ii. 25:—

"Sanctify ye a fast, call a solemn assembly, gather the elders and all the inhabitants of the land into the house of the Lord your God, and cry unto the Lord."—*Joel* i. 14.

"And I will restore to you the years that the locust hath eaten, the canker-worm, and the caterpillar, and the palmer-worm, my great army which I sent among you."—*Joel* ii. 25.

<sup>2</sup> See Deut. xvi. 13, quoted in note (<sup>2</sup>) in the preceding page.

"Ye shall dwell in booths seven days; all that are Israelites born shall dwell in booths: That your generations may know that I made the children of Israel to dwell in booths, when I brought them out of the land of Egypt: I am the Lord your God."—*Lev.* xxiii. 42, 43.

<sup>3</sup> *succoth* (booths) *Nehemiah* viii. 17.

of Exodus<sup>1</sup> must have had in his view that commencement of the year which was adopted after the Exile with the month of Tisri [October], if Credner is right in referring "the feast of in-gathering at the end of the year" to the period of autumn<sup>2</sup>.

Again the Passover is stated, by a bold fiction (whose anachronisms and contradictions cannot be ascribed, as Jahn proposes, to a transposition in the copying), to have been appointed while the Israelites were yet in Egypt, in order to commemorate their approaching deliverance<sup>3</sup>. But the Passover is in fact no other than the great Spring festival of the ancient world, known under the names of *Huli*, *Nauruz*, *Hilaria*, *Diabateria*<sup>4</sup>, and *Pesach* (*the passage* i.e. of the sun). In its celebration the Egyptians were accustomed to sacrifice a ram to Jupiter Ammon<sup>5</sup>; and, independently of them, the ancient Peruvians had the custom of reddening their temples and dwellings, to represent the triumph of the Sun over Winter and the renewal of its power<sup>6</sup>. The Hebrews might have early acquired a knowledge of this festival from some of the surrounding nations; but, as the celebration was to be wholly confined to the central sanctuary, the impossibility of so celebrating it must be evident<sup>7</sup>. Indeed, to judge from this rule of centralization, the festival must have been first ordained when the hierarchy had reached the highest point of its power. This supposition is confirmed by the evidence

<sup>1</sup> "The feast of in-gathering, which is in the end of the year, when thou hast gathered in thy labours out of the field."—*Exod.* xxiii. 16.

<sup>2</sup> See Credner on Gen. chap. vi.—ix. p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> *Exod.* xii. See De Wette, *Kritik*, i. 291.

<sup>4</sup> Philo iii. 686.

<sup>5</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Compare *Exod.* xii. 22. *Altes Indien* (Ancient India), i. 140.

<sup>7</sup> See Hüllmann, *Staatsverf.* p. 118.



of authentic history, which specially refers to the Pentateuch. Thus the second book of Kings speaks of a passover under Josiah, "such as was not holden from the time of the Judges," that is, according to the provisions of the law<sup>1</sup>; whereas the Chronicles on the contrary describe a similar festival under Hezekiah<sup>2</sup>. Whatever favourable opinion may be entertained of this latter narration, for a confirmation of which it is vain to refer to the passage in Isaiah xxx. 29<sup>3</sup>, it is still evident, from the whole description, that the celebration of the Passover was at that time a perfect novelty in Israel; for Hezekiah found it necessary to take counsel with his princes and the congregation; he had also to summon the whole population to the festival, and he was obliged to consecrate for the occasion new priests (who ought to have been previously in existence in multitudes); and yet, after all, it is stated, that this Passover was not solemnized by many of the people according to the injunctions of the written law<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> "And the king commanded all the people, saying, Keep the passover unto the Lord your God, as it is written in this book of the covenant. Surely there was not holden such a passover from the days of the judges that judged Israel, nor in all the days of the kings of Israel, nor of the kings of Judah."—2 *Kings* xxiii. 21, 22.

"And there was no passover like to that kept in Israel from the days of Samuel the prophet; neither did all the kings of Israel keep such a passover as Josiah kept, and the priests, and the Levites, and all Judah and Israel that were present, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem."—2 *Chron.* xxxv. 18.

<sup>2</sup> 2 *Chron.* xxx.

<sup>3</sup> Movers, p. 295. "Ye shall have a song, as in the night of a holy festival; and gladness of heart, as when one goeth with a pipe to come into the mountain of the Lord, to the rock of Israel."—*Isaiah* xxx. 29. (Luther's translation).

<sup>4</sup> "For a multitude of the people, even many of Ephraim, and Manasseh, Issachar, and Zebulun, had not cleansed themselves, yet did they eat the passover otherwise than it was written."—2 *Chron.* xxx. 18.

## CHAPTER XIX.

## GRADUAL PROGRESS OF THE WORSHIP OF JEHOVAH.

—FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PEOPLE OF JUDAH AND OF ISRAEL.—INQUIRY WHETHER ANY PROOF THAT MOSES WAS THE WRITER OF THE PENTATEUCH IS AFFORDED BY THE SAMARITAN COPY OF THAT WORK.

THE inquiries which have been the subjects of the preceding chapters have led to the following results:—that, from the time of Samuel downwards, the religious system of the Israelites was only perfected by very slow degrees through the continued efforts of prophets, priests, and some individual princes; that the service of Jehovah was only separated by degrees from the idolatrous forms of worship; that the Levitical system arose contemporaneously and slowly under the government of weak kings; but that the festivals were not actually celebrated according to the Levitical enactments until a very late period; and consequently, that the most important laws in the Pentateuch were never observed by the nation down to the time of the Babylonish Exile. Having established the truth of these conclusions, the assertion of our opponents, that reforms were repeatedly effected in accordance with the Mosaic constitution, must fall to the ground; and hence it is a great error in criticism to dwell on the unfavourable circumstances which the Levitical law had to experience

from its commencement; for the whole course of history is found, on the contrary, to present the strongest evidence of progressive steps in the formation of the Levitical constitution. The books of the Kings never fail to place in the most favourable light the virtues, whatever they were, of those princes who showed zeal in diffusing the worship of Jehovah, and yet in most cases they are compelled openly to admit that these princes did that which was displeasing in the sight of Jehovah. King Jehu was moved, by political hatred towards the house of Ahab, treacherously to murder the priests of Belus, and yet he opposed no obstacle to the worship of Apis<sup>1</sup>. Jehoash also acted according to Levitical principles, *as long as Jehoiada the priest instructed him*<sup>2</sup>. All the Hebrew princes allowed the high places of idolatry to remain, and Hezekiah is the only king of whom it is said that he did everything that was pleasing in the sight of Jehovah<sup>3</sup>.

There is indeed a well-known passage in the Chronicles, in which Jehoshaphat is represented as sending Levites, with the book of the law in their hands, into all the cities of Judah, in order to instruct the people<sup>4</sup>; but in this

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings x. 20-29.

<sup>2</sup> "And Jehoash did that which was right in the sight of the Lord all his days wherein Jehoiada the priest instructed him."—2 Kings xii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> "And he did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, according to all that David his father did."—2 Kings xviii. 3.

<sup>4</sup> "In the third year of his reign he [Jehoshaphat] sent to his princes, even to Ben-hail, and to Obadiah, and to Zechariah, and to Nathaneel, and to Michaiah, to teach in the cities of Judah. And with them he sent Levites, even Shemaiah and Nethaniah, and Zebadiah, and Asahel, and Shemiramoth, and Jehonathan, and Adonijah, and Tobijah, and Tob-adonijah, Levites; and with them Elishama and Jehoram, priests. And they taught in Judah, and had the book of the law of the Lord with them, and went about throughout all the cities of Judah and taught the people."—2 Chron. xvii. 7-10.

instance we may safely presume that the more ancient history<sup>1</sup> [of the Kings] would not have failed to mention so important a fact, if it had had an historical foundation; and besides, if an open fabrication can be seen in any part of the Chronicles, it is chiefly visible in this passage. The names of the princes<sup>2</sup> whom Jehoshaphat sent forth, and those of the Levites who were sent with them, are stated in the narrative; but we find among the princes the names of three well-known prophets, Obadiah, Zechariah, and Micah; and the names of the Levites (which seem to have been collected with no less anxiety,) bear evident marks of a later mode of formation. We find, for example, among these names, Shemaiah (whom Jehovah hears), Nethaniah (whom Jehovah has given), Jehonathan (whom Jehovah has given), Zebadiah (a gift of Jehovah), Adonijah (Jehovah is my Lord), Nathaneel (whom God has given), Asahel (whom God created), and even Shemiramoth, a name of so ambiguous a form as to leave it doubtful whether it were intended to designate a male or a female. Movers has done nothing to rescue this passage<sup>3</sup> from doubt, and, with all his great critical acumen, he seems to have been fully aware that it could not be authenticated. We now leave it to the explanation of those who believe in it, and return to our previous line of proof, which supplies, as will be seen, a refutation of the following argument sometimes adduced for attributing the Pentateuch to Moses, which would be amply refuted by such a succession of proofs, even if it had possessed much more force than its authors have assigned to it. The argu-

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xxii. 41-50.

<sup>2</sup> *Sarim* belong to the time when the priests had assumed this title.

<sup>3</sup> Movers, p. 299, &c.

ment is this:—"That the adoption of the Pentateuch by the Samaritans is a proof that that work must have been already in existence at the time of the separation of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, although after that division the two kingdoms remained at enmity with each other."

Here we have a striking example of the little attention that is paid even to the strongest evidence whenever it happens to be opposed to firmly rooted prejudices; for although this form of argument was only first brought forward in the seventeenth century, and was clearly shown by Antony Von Dale<sup>1</sup> to be utterly untenable, it has still been considered by Jahn<sup>2</sup>, Bertholdt<sup>3</sup>, and others, as invincible; and although, since their time, it has been completely demolished by Vater, De Wette, Gesenius, and Paulus, yet Rosenmüller again takes his stand behind it in order to raise the Pentateuch into higher antiquity.

The whole of this argument rests on two false assumptions: 1st, that a bitter hatred constantly separated the kingdoms of Judah and Israel; and 2ndly, that the later sect of the Samaritans completely coincided with the ancient inhabitants of Samaria, and with those of the kingdom of the ten tribes. With respect to the first of these points, it may be proved beyond all doubt, from the historical books [of the Old Testament], that a constant intercourse was maintained between the two kingdoms, that they regarded each other with brotherly interest, acting in concert against all common enemies, and that the division between them was wholly confined to the political jealousy of the two rival dynasties. From time immemorial, owing

<sup>1</sup> In his Correspondence with Morinus, pp. 77, 681, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Einleitung, ii. 70.

<sup>3</sup> Page 814.

to the intercourse with the Syrians and Phœnicians, Samaria had been the portion of the country most remarkable for the freedom of the Hebrew faith, and had risen at an early period to a certain degree of independence, evidence of which may be traced even in the census of David<sup>1</sup>; and hence it arose that the kingdom of the ten tribes was less disposed to submit to any fixed system, and that it never acquired a settled form of internal government<sup>2</sup>. A constitution founded on the legislative enactments of the Pentateuch was evidently out of the question, since from the date of the separation the kingdom of Israel never ceased to protest in the strongest terms against the centralization in Judah. It was nevertheless one of the cherished hopes of the prophets that the mutual jealousy of the two kingdoms might eventually cease, and make way for a reunion<sup>3</sup>; though, at the same time, it may be remarked that no mention was ever made by them of Levitical laws and ceremonies. These are first mentioned in those writings which were under Levitical influence, and which describe priests passing to and fro like missionaries to enlist new worshipers for their temple, while they would also lead us to infer that Jeroboam had expelled the Levites from his territories<sup>4</sup>. All this has been admirably

<sup>1</sup> 2 Sam. xxiv. 9. Compare Comm. on Gen. xlviii. and xlix.

<sup>2</sup> See Winer, Dict. of Bible, in the article *Israel*.

<sup>3</sup> "The envy also of Ephraim shall depart, and the adversaries of Judah shall be cut off: Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim."—*Isaiah* xi. 13.

"Then shall the children of Judah and the children of Israel be gathered together, and appoint themselves one head, and they shall come up out of the land: for great shall be the day of Jezreel."—*Hos.* i. 11. See also *Ezek.* xxxvii. 15.

<sup>4</sup> "The Levites left their suburbs and their possession, and came to Judah and Jerusalem: for Jeroboam and his sons had cast them off

developed by Gesenius<sup>1</sup>, and it only remains for us to add, that Jeroboam could neither have introduced nor maintained the worship of Apis if the Pentateuch had then been in existence<sup>2</sup>; that, if we are to believe the history, the same idolatrous worship continued to prevail in both the Hebrew kingdoms, and that all the indications of a later origin which are found in the Jewish text of the Pentateuch apply with equal force to the Samaritan version; so that the whole argument of those who defend the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch on this ground loses its weight. No proof can be adduced of the existence of these books among the remnant of the ten tribes previous to the time of Manasseh, in the fourth century before Christ. This was after the Samaritans, forbidden by Zerubbabel to assist in rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem<sup>3</sup>, had erected their own temple on Mount Gerizim, and had adopted the Levitical ritual; on which occasion, for the first time, Jewish priests were appointed by the Samaritans, whereas until then they had shown no disposition to possess any<sup>4</sup>, and they had expressly asserted that they had offered no sacrifice since the days of Esarhaddon<sup>5</sup>.

from executing the priest's office unto the Lord: and he ordained him priests for the high places, and for the devils, and for the calves which he had made."—2 *Chron.* xi. 14, 15.

<sup>1</sup> On Isaiah xi. 13.

<sup>2</sup> See A. v. Dale, p. 682.

<sup>3</sup> "But Zerubbabel, and Jeshua, and the rest of the chief of the fathers of Israel, said unto them, You have nothing to do with us to build an house unto our God; but we ourselves together will build unto the Lord God of Israel, as king Cyrus the king of Persia hath commanded us."—*Ezra* iv. 3.

<sup>4</sup> A. v. Dale, p. 685. De Wette, *Contrib.* i. 216.

<sup>5</sup> "We wish to build with you, for we seek your God as ye do, and we have offered no sacrifice since the days of Esarhaddon, king of Assur, who brought us up hither."—*Ezra* iv. 2 (Luther's translation).

The erection of the Samaritan temple was regarded by the Jews as an open disavowal of Jerusalem, and it filled them at once with all that implacable hatred which is generally indulged in towards apostates<sup>1</sup>. It is probable also that this feeling was considerably strengthened by the circumstance, that when the Samaritans admitted Jewish priests into their service, they remained true to their protestant character by refusing to adopt any of the sacred writings of the Jews except the Pentateuch; either because, in the first instance, this work had been promulgated alone<sup>2</sup>, or because they could have felt no very strong attachment to the Psalms, the Prophets, and the Chronicles, which are so full of Jerusalem and Judah.

Bertholdt has attempted to show that the ancient written character of the Samaritan Pentateuch is in itself a proof of an earlier period for the composition of that work; but the examination of the coins of the time, and the study of ancient Semitic writings, entirely disprove his reasoning, since they demonstrate that the same mode of writing was then in common use, both among the Jews and the Samaritans, and that what is called the square character was first derived from the Chaldæan forms of letters at a later period of Jewish history.

This argument concludes the series of the objections to the later date of the Pentateuch, with the exception of one ground of opposition, which still remains to be noticed, and the examination of which will enable the reader to acquire a full and clear knowledge of the subject.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Sir. l. 28. Josephus, Archæol. xi. 7, 8. St. John iv.

<sup>2</sup> A. v. Dale, p. 82.



## CHAPTER XX.

CRITICAL REMARKS.—BOOKS WHICH CONTAIN NO PROOF OF A PREVIOUS KNOWLEDGE OF THE PENTATEUCH.—IMITATIONS OF THE PENTATEUCH IN PRECEDING WRITERS.—INQUIRY WHETHER THE NEW TESTAMENT PROVES THAT MOSES WAS THE AUTHOR OF THE PENTATEUCH.

It has been said, that *the whole of Hebrew and Christian antiquity regarded the Pentateuch as the work of Moses, and that it is frequently cited as such in the other books of the Old Testament.*

This is a bold assertion, in which however a few trifles have been entirely overlooked. For instance, it disregards the fact, that the passages which merely speak in general terms of ancient popular legends, traditional usages, and customary rights, or of an ideal law and instruction (*torah*), must be carefully distinguished from other passages, which expressly mention a *written* collection [of law], and which quote its very *words*. Again, this argument omits to draw the line where Hebrew antiquity with its historical evidence commences, and intentionally neglects to assign the precise date when verbal quotations are found to have been first made from the Pentateuch. Besides the assertors of this proposition have forgotten that their own argument loses all its force after the date of the first verbal quota-

tions from the Pentateuch, and that the ordinary rules of criticism do not allow ancient writings to be blended promiscuously with more recent compositions.

Single expressions and phrases have been adduced by Jahn and Eichhorn, as obvious imitations of the Pentateuch; but these critics have in their turn forgotten that such passages generally belong to the common peculiarities of language, and that in attributing various Psalms, from which they quote these expressions, to the time of David, they have assumed a date for these Psalms which still requires to be proved<sup>1</sup>.

If therefore the books and passages which contain no evidence as to the question before us be put aside, the assertion of the opponents to the later date of the Pentateuch will be reduced to the following form:—

“That, after a certain date, the Pentateuch is quoted in other books, and that its laws then appear as if they had owed their origin to Moses.”

Early Hebrew writers, however, and especially the poets and prophets of that nation, lived among the people themselves, and they composed their works under the influence of traditions, to which the Pentateuch has given a still greater extension. Besides, they made use of the popular traditions without the slightest reference to any written foundation for them; and it may be assumed, without fear of contradiction, that the Pentateuch was not indispensably necessary to enable such writers to allude either to the legends of their native country or to the settled popular ideas of their own time.

<sup>1</sup> See especially Hartmann, *Histor. krit. Forsch.* [Historical and Critical Researches], p. 552, &c.

Allusions of this kind were accordingly made to the flood of Noah<sup>1</sup>, to the Patriarchs<sup>2</sup>, to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah<sup>3</sup>, to the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt, and their sojourn in the Arabian desert<sup>4</sup>, to the

<sup>1</sup> "The earth also is defiled under the inhabitants thereof; because they have transgressed the laws, changed the ordinance, broken the everlasting covenant."—*Isaiah* xxiv. 5.

<sup>2</sup> "He took his brother by the heel in the womb, and by his strength he had power with God: Yea, he had power over the angel, and prevailed: he wept, and made supplication unto him: he found him in Beth-el, and there he spake with us."—*Hosea* xii. 3, 4.

Compared with the following:—

"And the children struggled together within her; and she said, If it be so, why am I thus? And she went to enquire of the Lord..... And after that came his brother out, and his hand took hold on Esau's heel; and his name was called Jacob: and Isaac was threescore years old when she bare them."—*Gen.* xxv. 22, 26.

"And Jacob was left alone: and there wrestled a man with him until the breaking of the day."—*Gen.* xxxii. 24.

The evidence of Pseudo-Isaiah on the contrary (li. 2.) cannot be admitted on account of its recent date.

<sup>3</sup> "They declare their sin as Sodom, they hide it not."—*Isaiah* iii. 9.

"I have overthrown some of you, as God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah."—*Amos* iv. 11.

See also *Introd.* to *Gen.* chap. xviii.

<sup>4</sup> "But when Israel came up from Egypt, and walked through the wilderness unto the Red Sea, and came to Kadesh."—*Judges* xi. 16.

"Wherefore then do ye harden your hearts, as the Egyptians and Pharaoh hardened their hearts? when he had wrought wonderfully among them, did they not let the people go, and they departed."—*1 Sam.* vi. 6.

"Thus saith the Lord of hosts, I remember that which Amalek did to Israel, how he laid wait for him in the way, when he came up from Egypt."—*1 Sam.* xv. 2.

"And what one nation in the earth is like thy people, even like Israel, whom God went to redeem for a people to himself, and to make him a name, and to do for you great things and terrible, for thy land, before thy people, which thou redeemedst to thee from Egypt, from the nations and their gods?"—*2 Sam.* vii. 23.

"And the Lord shall utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian sea; and with his mighty wind shall he shake his hand over the river, and

priesthood of Aaron<sup>1</sup>, to the miracles of Moses<sup>2</sup>, and in general to the services which Moses had rendered to this nation. Here too we may remark, that the increasing frequency with which the name of Moses is mentioned in different books supplies us with a useful indication of the zealous efforts which were made by the popular legends in later times to obtain a closer view of this mythical hero. Thus in the books of Samuel the name of Moses is only mentioned twice; in the book of Judges three times; in the Psalms eight times; in the books of Kings ten times; in the Chronicles, including Ezra and Nehemiah, thirty-one times; and in the book of Joshua fifty-six times<sup>3</sup>. A lyrical hymn which is put into the mouth of Moses in the 90th Psalm, refrains from all allusion to the primæval history, although such a reference would have appeared most natural in such a poem; and those who desire to

shall smite it in the seven streams, and make men go over dryshod. And there shall be an highway for the remnant of his people, which shall be left, from Assyria; like as it was to Israel in the day that he came up out of the land of Egypt."—*Isaiah* xi. 15, 16.

"Have ye offered unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel?"—*Amos* v. 25.

"Thou leddest thy people like a flock by the hand of Moses and Aaron."—*Psalms* lxxvii. 20.

"He spake unto them in the cloudy pillar: they kept his testimonies, and the ordinance that he gave them."—*Psalms* xcix. 7.

<sup>1</sup> "And there came a man of God unto Eli, and said unto him, Thus saith the Lord, Did I plainly appear unto the house of thy father, when they were in Egypt in Pharaoh's house?"—*1 Sam.* ii. 27.

<sup>2</sup> "Therefore thus saith the Lord God of hosts, O my people that dwellest in Zion, be not afraid of the Assyrian: he shall smite thee with a rod, and shall lift up his staff against thee, after the manner of Egypt.....And the Lord of hosts shall stir up a scourge for him according to the slaughter of Midian at the rock of Oreb: and as his rod was upon the sea, so shall he lift it up after the manner of Egypt."—*Isaiah* x. 24, 26.

<sup>3</sup> See Zunz, p. 35.

survey an entire period, during which oral tradition was the sole record of the national history, have only to refer to two important passages,—the one in the book of Judges<sup>1</sup> and the other in the 78th Psalm<sup>2</sup>. In the first of these, the miracles of Jehovah, which he wrought in the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt, are said in Judges to have been “*told to them by their fathers*”<sup>3</sup>, and the 78th Psalm speaks of the ancient sayings which the people had *heard*, and which they had been *told*. This Psalm is ascribed to Asaph, but in many of its allusions it suggests an origin much later than the time of David, and it appears, from verses 9 and 10, to have been certainly composed subsequently to the division of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel<sup>4</sup>.

The same remarks may be made on many ancient customs and laws derived from usage, among which we may mention the abstemiousness of the Nazarites<sup>5</sup>, the custom of suffering the hair to grow during vows<sup>6</sup>, the purification

<sup>1</sup> “And Gideon said unto him, Oh my Lord, if the Lord be with us, why then is all this befallen us? and where be all his miracles which our fathers told us of, saying, Did not the Lord bring us up from Egypt?”—*Judges* vi. 13.

<sup>2</sup> “Which we have heard and known, and our fathers have told us.”—*Psalm* lxxviii. 3.

<sup>3</sup> ‘*Sher sipru-lanu ’abothaynu*.

<sup>4</sup> “The children of Ephraim, being armed, and carrying bows, turned back in the day of battle. They kept not the covenant of God, and refused to walk in his law.”—*Psalm* lxxviii. 9, 10.

<sup>5</sup> “Now therefore beware, I pray thee, and drink not wine nor strong drink, and eat not any unclean thing.”—*Judges* xiii. 4.

<sup>6</sup> “And she vowed a vow, and said, O Lord of Hosts, if thou wilt indeed look on the affliction of thine handmaid, and remember me, and not forget thine handmaid, but wilt give unto thine handmaid a man-child, then I will give him unto the Lord all the days of his life, and there shall no razor come upon his head.”—*1 Sam.* i. 11.

by hyssop<sup>1</sup>, the aversion to the use of blood<sup>2</sup>, the fourfold restitution for injury<sup>3</sup>, the destruction of all the males according to rules of war<sup>4</sup>, and many other legal observances which afterwards naturally passed as customs into law. Thus the book of Ruth betrays entire ignorance of the laws of the Pentateuch with reference to the traditional practice of Leviratic marriage [or marrying the brother's widow<sup>5</sup>.] In such cases the ordinances, which the legends seem disposed to refer to Moses as their author and composer, furnish no stronger evidence for the existence of a *written* original than the warnings against the gods of other nations<sup>6</sup>, or the occasional mention of a *covenant with Jehovah*

<sup>1</sup> "Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean: wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow."—*Psalms* li. 7.

<sup>2</sup> "And the people flew upon the spoil, and took sheep, and oxen, and calves, and slew them on the ground: and the people did eat them with the blood. Then they told Saul, saying, Behold the people sin against the Lord, in that they eat with the blood. And he said, Ye have transgressed."—1 *Sam.* xiv. 32, 33.

<sup>3</sup> "And he shall restore the lamb four-fold, because he did this thing, and because he had no pity."—2 *Sam.* xii. 6.

<sup>4</sup> "And this is the thing that ye shall do, Ye shall utterly destroy every male."—*Judges* xxi. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Ruth iv. 7. with Deut. xxv. 9, &c., and several passages in De Wette's *Einleitung* (Introd.) § 161.

<sup>6</sup> "And ye shall make no league with the inhabitants of this land; ye shall throw down their altars: but ye have not obeyed my voice: why have ye done this?"—*Judges* ii. 2.

"And Gideon said unto them, I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you: the Lord shall rule over you."—*Judges* viii. 23.

"And the Lord said unto Samuel, Hearken unto the voice of the people, in all that they say unto thee; for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them."—1 *Sam.* viii. 7.

"In Hebron he [David] reigned over Judah seven years and six months: and in Jerusalem he reigned thirty and three years over all Israel and Judah."—2 *Sam.* v. 5.

and the transgressions of that covenant<sup>1</sup> after the supremacy of the Deity had been at length fully recognized<sup>2</sup>. These were only the general ideas of the prophets and poets, who were then totally independent of the Pentateuch, and were zealous and untiring in their efforts to insulate and exalt the Deity of their nation.

Well might these early leaders exert themselves to oppose not only the existing idolatry of the people, but also the Levitical ceremonial which was in the course of gradual formation with its *lipservice* and its *precepts of men*<sup>3</sup>.

It is possible indeed that under Hezekiah there may have been the first commencement of a written system<sup>4</sup>, but who shall assure us that the "*Sap̄her*" [or book] mentioned by Isaiah referred to any part of the present Pentateuch, and still less to the whole contents of it? Such a supposition is refuted by the total ignorance of the Levitical writings which is apparent in other parts of the older prophets, as well as in the earlier Psalms, which merely allude to an ideal law<sup>5</sup>; and although it is

<sup>1</sup> "The earth also is defiled unto the inhabitants thereof; because they have transgressed the laws, changed the ordinance, broken the everlasting covenant."—*Isaiah* xxiv. 5. &c.

<sup>2</sup> See *supra* Chap. XII. &c.

<sup>3</sup> "Wherefore the Lord said, Forasmuch as this people draw near me with their mouth, and with their lips do honour me, but have removed their heart far from me, and their fear toward me is taught by the precept of men."—*Isaiah* xxix. 13.

<sup>4</sup> "And in that day shall the deaf hear the words of the book, and the eyes of the blind shall see out of obscurity, and out of darkness."—*Isaiah* xxix. 18.

"I have written to him the great things of my law, but they were counted as a strange thing."—*Hosea* viii. 12.

<sup>5</sup> "For all his judgements were before me, and I did not put away his precepts from me. I was also upright before him, and I kept myself from mine iniquity."—*Psalms* xviii. 22, 23. (Luther's translation).

said in one of the later Psalms (the 119th), that the singer kept these precepts in his heart<sup>1</sup>, Jahn and others have committed a double *petitio principii*, or begging of the question, by assuming that *David* must in consequence have *read* the precepts *diligently*. Still less can popular ideas or poetical images, such as the opening of the windows of heaven in Isaiah<sup>2</sup>, or the arrangement of the universe in Genesis<sup>3</sup>, afford any proof of the earlier existence of the Pentateuch. Proverbial expressions, as *thohu va-bohu*, "desert and empty"<sup>4</sup>, and such single phrases as "God is not a man that he should lie"<sup>5</sup>, or "such a thing should not be done in Israel"<sup>6</sup>, have their root in the language itself, and are not so closely interwoven with the structure of the Pentateuch as to deserve to be considered, with other vague expressions<sup>7</sup>, as exclusively belonging to it.

We are now able to point with certainty to those books, which not only exhibit a general want of acquaintance with the laws of the Pentateuch, but which never even make the slightest allusion to their existence. Such are, among historical works, the books of the Judges and of Samuel<sup>8</sup>. Among the poetical pieces are included those

<sup>1</sup> Psalm cxix. called "the hundred-fold echo of the excellence of the law," in Zunz, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Isaiah, xxiv. 18.

<sup>3</sup> See Comm. on Gen. i. 6.

<sup>4</sup> "And the earth was desert and empty." (Luther.)—Gen. i. 2.

<sup>5</sup> "And also the Strength of Israel will not lie nor repent: for he is not a man, that he should repent."—1 Sam. xv. 29.

"God is not a man, that he should lie; neither the son of man, that he should repent: hath he said, and shall he not do it? or hath he spoken, and shall he not make it good?"—Num. xxiii. 19.

<sup>6</sup> "2 Sam. xiii. 12. Gen. xxiv. 7. Deut. xxii. 21.

<sup>7</sup> See Rosenmüller's Prolegg. p. 11. Comp. *supra* Chap. V. on the more recent peculiarities in the language of these books.

<sup>8</sup> See *supra* Chap. XVI., and De Wette, Kritik. i. 152. We cannot



Psalms which are admitted to be the genuine productions of David (as, for instance, Psalms iii. vii. xvi.) and several others at the commencement of the first book, in which the religious spirit not only differs from the Levitical but is actually opposed to it. The criticism, however, according to which each separate Psalm in the collection has been placed in chronological order, is by no means so clear as could be wished, and is open to great difficulties, owing to the lyrical character of those Psalms which do not allude to passing events, and to which only a probable date can be given, deduced from the uncertain criterion of their language.

The Hindoos have adopted Vyâsa as a collective name for all that is epic, and Kâlidâsa as the name for all that is lyrical and dramatic, and so Moses is the name employed by the Hebrews for all that relates to law, and David for all that is lyrical in its character<sup>1</sup>.

Many of the Psalms are merely imitations of more ancient ones, many are elegies belonging to the period of the Exile which mourn over the fall of Jerusalem and the general calamity of the people<sup>2</sup>, and others (as those which are called the Maccabæan Psalms<sup>3</sup>) were not written until after the restoration of the kingdom. The work of collection was probably first begun under the later Kings, and was not concluded until long afterwards, so that a

agree with Hartmann (p. 561), that the books of Samuel were first arranged in their present form during the time of the Babylonish Exile, for they are written in entire ignorance of that event.

<sup>1</sup> De Wette, p. 153, and his Commentary on the Psalms.

<sup>2</sup> Hitzig may have occasionally carried his conjectures too far, yet he is probably right in ascribing some of these Psalms to the prophet Jeremiah. For instance, Psalms vi., xxii., xxviii., xxx., xxxi., xxxviii., xl., cii. See Hitzig, *Begr. Kritik*.

<sup>3</sup> e. g. Psalms lxxiv., lxxix., lxxx., lxxxiii., &c.

passing allusion to the Pentateuch in any particular Psalm can possess no value as evidence, unless the precise date of the Psalm has been fully determined. Forbearing for the present to inquire whether it be not as easy to discover reminiscences of the older hymns in the Pentateuch, or whether many current phrases and poetical figures may not find a common origin in the common usage of the time<sup>1</sup>, we proceed to observe, that these allusions in general are only to be found in the latter half of the book of Psalms; and that even there it is by no means necessary to assume in all cases some pre-existing model<sup>2</sup>; whereas, on the other hand, it may be affirmed with confidence, that the two chronological and prosaic abstracts of the whole primæval history in the 105th and 106th Psalms follow the narrative of the Pentateuch, as we might be prepared to expect in hymns written after the Exile.

As we proceed further, it is very well known, that the poetical author of the book of Job makes little or no reference to any of the Levitical enactments; and that, strange as it may seem, even the book of Proverbs, with all its strict moral precepts and its earnest admonitions against suretyship, adultery and other vices, never once appeals to the book of the law; indeed it is said that, owing to these and other discrepancies from the Pentateuch, the book of Proverbs was only adopted into the Canon after strong opposition<sup>3</sup>. This remarkable silence may possibly be explained, by supposing that the books in question had their

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Ex. xv. 2, 6, with the comparatively modern Ps. cxviii. 14, 16.

<sup>2</sup> As when for instance the 60th Psalm (from which a later hymn Psalm cviii. 9, is borrowed) characterizes Judah as *mecho'k'ek*, "a law-giver," Ps. lx. 7. (See Comm. on Gen. xlix. 10), or when the 110th Psalm cites the "order of Melchisedeck."

<sup>3</sup> Tract. Schabb. chap. 2. fol. 30.

origin in some part of the kingdom of Israel ; but even such a conjecture would not meet the case of those prophets who preceded the Babylonish Exile. They constantly and zealously denounce idolatry, and all those other vices which the Pentateuch visits with its severest censures ; like it, they inculcate union and conformity to the theocratic law ; and they preach in inspired language of Jehovah the God of their nation and the dispensations of his providence : but although in other cases they refer to those who had gone before them, and make a sort of commentary on their very words<sup>1</sup>, yet they never inculcate a precept in the words of the Pentateuch itself, though it, like the texts of the Koran, as employed by Mahometan moralists, would have greatly increased the effect of their censures.

Here the argument derived from silence is so clear, that this proposition may henceforth be regarded as an axiom, that the older prophets possessed no knowledge of the Pentateuch. It is true that, animated by a freer spirit, the prophets openly denounced the sacrificial observances of their day, but these can by no means be confounded with the sacred ceremonies of the Levitical code, and passages like those in Isaiah<sup>2</sup>, Amos<sup>3</sup>, and Micah<sup>4</sup>, are far too ex-

<sup>1</sup> Compare Obadiah with Joel, Jerem. xvii. 27, with Amos i. 4, ii. 5, Jerem. xxvi. 18, with Micah ; Jerem. xlviii. 5, 29, &c., with Isaiah xv. 5. See Gesenius de Pent., Sam. p. 7. Credner on Joel, 81.

<sup>2</sup> "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me ? saith the Lord : I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts ; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats."—*Isaiah* i. 11.

<sup>3</sup> "I hate, I despise your feast-days, and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies."—*Amos* v. 21.

<sup>4</sup> "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God ? shall I come before him with burnt-offerings, with calves of a year old ?"—*Micah* vi. 6.

plicit to have been directed against a mere *opus operatum*; on the contrary, they shake the whole structure of the sacerdotal ritual to its foundation. But after having thus examined the arguments of our opponents, we may fairly be allowed to retort their own question, by inquiring if the Pentateuch itself betrays no knowledge of its own predecessors; and if we examine the relation in which it stands to the prophets, we shall find good reason to believe that the Pentateuch was very well acquainted with these latter writers. Indeed, the very name *nabi'* [or prophet], which was not introduced into the language till the time of Samuel<sup>1</sup>, is found to occur in Genesis<sup>2</sup>, and the prophetic style of expression is already completely developed, even to the formula *ne'um* [or oracle], with which the oracles of the seers used to be introduced<sup>3</sup>; nay, the degeneracy of the prophets must have already commenced, as false and venal seers are expressly mentioned<sup>4</sup>, so that we may be prepared to expect yet more distinct allusions to some of the older writings, and more particularly to those of the prophets. To some instances of this kind we have already

<sup>1</sup> See *supra* Chap. XVII. [and 1 Sam. ix. 9.]

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xx. 7. "He is a prophet," [*nabi'*]. Compare Exod. vii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> "And said, By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord," [(ne'um yehoah) literally an 'oracle of Jehovah,' i. e. (thus) saith Jehovah.—Ges. Lex.].—Gen. xxii. 16.

"And he took up his parable, and said, Balaam the son of Beor hath said, and the man whose eyes are open hath said."—Num. xxiv. 3.

<sup>4</sup> "And the elders of Moab, and the elders of Midian departed, with the rewards of divination in their hand; and they came unto Balaam, and spake unto him the words of Balak."—Num. xxii. 7.

"And Balaam answered and said unto the servants of Balak, If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord my God, to do less or more."—Num. xxii. 18.

"If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the commandment of the Lord, to do either good or bad of

incidentally referred; we have traced to the prophet Joel<sup>1</sup> a description which is found in Exodus<sup>2</sup>, have discovered in the same book<sup>3</sup> a whole phrase borrowed from the first book of Samuel<sup>4</sup>, pointed out in 2 Sam. viii. 7, 8, the motive for the law of the king in Deut. xvii. 14, (see Ch. IX.), and have shown that the book of Genesis is open to a very strong suspicion of having employed some fragments from ancient history, and merely clothed them in a mythical dress<sup>5</sup>. These passages therefore, and many others which might be here adduced, stand more or less in the relation of copies to an original, and the imitation of the older writings is in most cases too clear to be disputed. The passage in Gen. vii. 11. derives its poetic colouring from Isaiah xxiv. 18<sup>6</sup>, where however *minmarom*, "from on high,"

mine own mind; but what the Lord saith, that will I speak."—*Num.* xxiv. 13.

"If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder."—*Deut.* xiii. 1.

"But the prophet, which shall presume to speak a word in my name, which I have not commanded him to speak, or that shall speak in the name of other gods, even that prophet shall die."—*Deut.* xviii. 20.

<sup>1</sup> "A day of darkness and of gloominess, a day of clouds and of thick darkness, as the morning spread upon the mountains: a great people and a strong: there hath not been ever the like, neither shall be any more after it, even to the years of many generations."—*Joel* ii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> "Before them there were no such locusts as they, neither after them shall be such."—*Exod.* x. 14. See *supra* Chapter VI. p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> "..... the women assembling, which assembled at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation."—*Exod.* xxxviii. 8.

<sup>4</sup> "..... the women that assembled at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation."—1 *Sam.* ii. 22. *Hannashim hatsob'oth pethach 'ahel mo'ed.* (See *supra* Chap. XIV. p. 175.)

<sup>5</sup> See observations on Gen. xxxiv.

<sup>6</sup> "The windows from on high are open, and the foundations of the earth do shake."—*Is.* xxiv. 18.

"The same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows [or flood-gates] of heaven were opened."—*Gen.* vii. 11.

presents a much finer image, and its author would appear to have borrowed from the same prophet the exaggerated extent which he assigns to the country<sup>1</sup>. Moses' hymn of praise commences with a verb which is peculiar to prophetic poetry<sup>2</sup>, borrows a whole sentence<sup>3</sup> from the second verse in the twelfth chapter of Isaiah, and is formed in accordance with modes of expression which are found in the different poets. The address of Moses to Jehovah in Exodus xxxiv. 6, borrows a passage from Joel<sup>4</sup>, which frequently recurs in the Psalms; the seventh verse of the same chapter declares the more enlightened belief of the prophets<sup>5</sup>, that Jehovah forgives iniquity, and yet it immediately adds, without an attempt to remove the contradiction, that he avenges sins on children, and on children's children unto the third and fourth generation; this last

<sup>1</sup> "In the same day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying, Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates."—*Gen.* xv. 18. [See *Is.* xxvii. 12.]

<sup>2</sup> "For he hath triumphed gloriously."—*Exod.* xv. 1. *ki ga'oh ga'ah*, as in Isaiah xii. 5, *ki gi'oth 'asah*. ["He hath done excellent things."]

<sup>3</sup> "The Lord Jehovah is my strength and song; he also is become my salvation."—*Is.* xii. 2.

"The Lord (Jehovah) is my strength and song, and he is become my salvation."—*Exod.* xv. 2.

<sup>4</sup> "The Lord God, merciful and gracious."—*Exod.* xxxiv. 6.

"He [the Lord your God] is gracious and merciful."—*Joel* ii. 13.

"Thou O Lord art a God full of compassion, and gracious."—*Psalms* lxxxvi. 15.

"The Lord is merciful and gracious."—*Psalms* ciii. 8.

"The Lord is gracious and full of compassion."—*Psalms* cxlv. 8.

<sup>5</sup> "Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by the transgression of the remnant of his heritage? he retaineth not his anger for ever, because he delighteth in mercy. He will turn again, he will have compassion upon us; he will subdue our iniquities; and thou wilt cast all their sins into the depths of the sea."—*Micah* vii. 18, 19.

was indeed a Levitical dogma, to the refutation of which Ezekiel subsequently devoted a whole chapter<sup>1</sup>.

Lastly, between the prophet Jeremiah and the Pentateuch and especially the book of Deuteronomy, something more than an intimate connection is apparent. But the prophet Jeremiah belongs to a period during which there was a manifest acquaintance with the law; and we will rather at present pursue our researches into history, in order to ascertain, in the first place, when the *direct evidence* of an original written document begins to appear, which will be found in those books that assumed their present shape either about the time of the Babylonish Exile or at a later period.

The books of Kings are not only familiar with the written law in its whole extent and according to its three-fold division<sup>2</sup>, but they even quote its very words<sup>3</sup>. Since,

<sup>1</sup> Compare Exod. xx. 5; Numb. xiv. 18; Ezek. xviii, and especially verses 2, 3, and 20. "The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son."—Ezek. xviii. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Into *chuk'k'ah*, *mitsrah*, and *mishpotim*.

"Keep the charge of the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, to keep his statutes, and his commandments, and his judgments, and his testimonies, as it is written in the Law of Moses."—1 Kings ii. 3.

See note in Commentary on Genesis xxvi. 5. "Abraham obeyed my voice and kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws."

<sup>3</sup> "But the children of the murderers he slew not: according unto that which is written in the book of the law of Moses, wherein the Lord commanded, saying, The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, nor the children be put to death for the fathers; but every man shall be put to death for his own sin."—2 Kings xiv. 6.

Compare the following:—

"The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, neither shall the children be put to death for the fathers: every man shall be put to death for his own sin."—Deut. xxiv. 16.

See especially Movers, p. 272.

however, these books speak of the removal to Babylon<sup>1</sup> as an event present to them, and of the reign of Solomon as a golden age long since passed away, their testimony can only prove the opinions that prevailed in their time; and when they ascribe the law to Moses, or put into David's mouth a statement to that effect<sup>2</sup>, we well know, from the history of the Romish hierarchy, how uncertain priestly tradition is; in fact, where all other evidence is wanting, we can give no credence to such statements.

Ezekiel is the first among the prophets who makes any reference to a modification of the laws contained in the Pentateuch. His allusion to the Flood would of itself prove nothing<sup>3</sup>, but he quotes the very words of the law, and has clearly the text before his eyes<sup>4</sup>. But this prophet wrote in Babylon, and, were we to judge only from his

<sup>1</sup> "Then hear thou in heaven, and forgive the sin of thy people Israel, and bring them again unto the land which thou gavest unto their fathers. ....If they sin against thee, (for there is no man that sinneth not,) and thou be angry with them, and deliver them to the enemy, so that they carry them away captives unto the land of the enemy, far or near; yet if they shall bethink themselves in the land whither they were carried captives, and repent, and make supplication unto thee in the land of them that carried them captives, saying, We have sinned, and have done perversely, we have committed wickedness....."—1 *Kings* viii. 34, 46, 47. See also 2 *Kings* xxiv. and xxv.

<sup>2</sup> See 1 *Kings* ii. 3. in relation to Deut. xvii. 16.

<sup>3</sup> "Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness, saith the Lord God."—*Ezek.* xiv. 14.

<sup>4</sup> "And hath not eaten upon the mountains, neither hath lifted up his eyes to the idols of the house of Israel, neither hath defiled his neighbour's wife."—*Ezek.* xviii. 6.

"And say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God: In the day when I chose Israel, and lifted up mine hand unto the seed of the house of Jacob, and made myself known unto them in the land of Egypt, when I lifted up mine hand unto them, saying, I am the Lord your God;



language and his subject, his works might be referred to a still later period of Jewish history, and the Talmud actually asserts that his prophecies were not committed to writing until the time of the great synagogue<sup>1</sup>.

The other books which mention the Pentateuch are of far too late a date to furnish any trustworthy grounds for deciding the time of its origin, and least of all can we attach any weight to the evidence which the book of Joshua can afford. That book forms, as it were, a supplement to the earlier history, pursues the same objects, and breathes the same pure Levitical spirit, and hence it must stand or fall with the Pentateuch itself. From Hasse indeed to De Wette, Gesenius and Maurer, the date and character of the book of Joshua have been so often acknowledged and so fully established, that, without

In the day that I lifted up mine hand unto them, to bring them forth of the land of Egypt into a land that I had espied for them, flowing with milk and honey, which is the glory of all lands : Then said I unto them, Cast ye away every man the abominations of his eyes, and defile not yourselves with the idols of Egypt : I am the Lord your God..... And I gave them my statutes, and shewed them my judgements, which if a man do, he shall even live in them.....And hallow my sabbaths ; and they shall be a sign between me and you, that ye may know that I am the Lord your God."—*Ezek. xx. 5-7, 11, 20.*

"In thee have they discovered their fathers' nakedness : in thee have they humbled her that was set apart for pollution."—*Ezek. xxii. 10.*

"Neither shall they shave their heads, nor suffer their locks to grow long ; they shall only poll their heads. Neither shall any priest drink wine, when they enter into the inner court. Neither shall they take for their wives a widow, nor her that is put away : but they shall take maidens of the seed of the house of Israel, or a widow that had a priest before. And they shall teach my people the difference between the holy and profane, and cause them to discern between the unclean and the clean."—*Ezek. xlv. 20-23.* See especially chap. xlv.—xlviii.

<sup>1</sup> See Zunz, p. 157.

derogation of the strict laws of criticism, we may be excused from dwelling more particularly on the subject<sup>1</sup>.

After the return from the exile, the Levitical law came into full operation; it was read by sections in the temple<sup>2</sup>, and the books of the Chronicles and of Ezra and Nehemiah, which always place the Levites in the foreground, do not omit to mention the Mosaic origin of the Levitical law<sup>3</sup>. It is clear, nevertheless, that the influence of the Pentateuch was as yet only in its infancy, for it is said that they *found* in that work, that the Ammonites and the Moabites should not come into the congregation, and they

<sup>1</sup> [The opinion of Athanasius with respect to the book of Joshua, and those which follow it as far as the book of Ezra, was, that these books were not written by the men whose names they bear and of whom they treat, but by prophets who lived at various times. See Parker's translation of De Wette's Introduction to the Old Testament, vol. ii. p. 190, and the passage in Athanasius there referred to (Synop. tom. ii. Opp. p. 73). Mr. Parker considers that the book of Joshua was compiled at a somewhat later date than the Pentateuch, and at a time when the Pentateuch was acknowledged and well known, and on the whole he is inclined to place the date of the book of Joshua after the commencement of the Babylonish Exile. See Parker, vol. ii. p. 189.]

<sup>2</sup> "And they stood up in their place, and read in the book of the law of the Lord their God one fourth part of the day; and another fourth part they confessed, and worshiped the Lord their God."—*Neh.* ix. 3.

<sup>3</sup> "Then stood up Jeshua the son of Jozadak, and his brethren the priests, and Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, and his brethren, and builded the altar of the God of Israel, to offer burnt offerings thereon, as it is written in the law of Moses the man of God."—*Ezra*, iii. 2.

"And they set the priests in their divisions, and the Levites in their courses, for the service of God, which is at Jerusalem; as it is written in the book of Moses."—*Ezra* vi. 18.

"Also the first-born of our sons, and of our cattle, as it is written in the law, and the firstlings of our herds and of our flocks, to bring to the house of our God, unto the priests that minister in the house of our God."—*Nehem.* x. 36.

were separated accordingly<sup>1</sup>. Mixed marriages were found to be forbidden in the Pentateuch, and this law was enforced with severity<sup>2</sup>; regulations were likewise found therein for the celebration of the feast of tabernacles, and were for the first time put in practice<sup>3</sup>. Moreover, the author of the book of Ecclesiastes (in whose time "there was no end of making many books,") never makes a single allusion either to the law or to the priesthood; and the apocryphal books take little or no notice of the most important enactments of the Pentateuch; and hence we are led to the conclusion, that the *general* recognition of its authority was the gradual work of a very long period of time, extending almost down to the time of Christ<sup>4</sup>.

Some critics are inclined to lay great stress on the fact that the various Jewish sects have agreed in ascribing the Pentateuch to Moses; but, without insisting that a mere inference from common opinion is entitled to very little authority<sup>5</sup>, we need only remark, that these sects themselves originated at a later period, and that, notwithstanding the difference in their dogmas, they were too little versed in freedom of critical inquiry to aid us in the decision of this question. The same may be said of the New Testament itself (which cites these books under the name of Moses), and also of the opinions of the early Christians,

<sup>1</sup> "On that day they read in the book of Moses in the audience of the people; and therein was found written, that the Ammonite and the Moabite should not come into the congregation of God for ever."—*Nehem.* xiii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ezra ix. Compare *supra* Chap. VII. p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> "And they found written in the law which the Lord had commanded by Moses, that the children of Israel should dwell in booths in the feast of the seventh month."—*Nehem.* viii. 14, &c.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *supra* Chap. XV. p. 182.

<sup>5</sup> See De Wette, *Introd.* § 163.

which however were by no means so uniform as has been supposed. Those who were called Heretics were far, we know, from sharing in these opinions; and even if they are denied the name of Christians, the opinion of St. Jerome will still remain to be considered, that Ezra might be regarded as the restorer of the law<sup>1</sup>. It is however true that in earlier times the New Testament supplied a striking argument, which silenced every critical examination of the Old Testament by the threat of unbelief. Morinus says, with decisive emphasis, that "The Pentateuch is the law of Moses, since, if it were not, the Gospel, which is the rule of truth, would not expressly call it the law of Moses"<sup>2</sup>.

Yet we may be permitted, at the present day, to declare freely, that the writers of Christian antiquity adopted without reserve the ideas which prevailed in their own time, and that in the present case they did so perhaps without ever supposing that the law was actually written by Moses himself. In such mere externals Jesus and the Apostles retained the opinions of their nation, and never entered into critical inquiries concerning the history or date of the sacred writings of their forefathers; and even if they had really entertained such critical doubts of their authority as Apion, Hierocles, Celsus, Fronto, Porphyry, and other thinking men of the first centuries afterwards confessed, surely that would not have been the time to express them openly; for the wise founder of Christianity was obliged, according to his own words, to leave many things unsaid, because his own Apostles were not then able to bear them.

<sup>1</sup> See *supra* Chap. III. p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> "Pentateuchum esse legem Mosis, quoniam si non esset Evangelium veritatis norma eum legem Mosis absolute non vocaret."—*Morinus gegen Dale* (against Dale), p. 730.

The New Testament has not disdained to employ even the traditional additions of the Rabbis when any information could be gained from them, as the names for instance of the Egyptian magicians<sup>1</sup> in 2 Tim. iii. 8, the descent of Boaz from Rahab<sup>2</sup> in Matth. i. 5, a quotation in Matth. ii. 23<sup>3</sup>, which is not to be found either in the Old Testament or in its Greek interpreters, &c. We can hardly be required to believe that the fountain of Moses<sup>4</sup> followed the Jews through the wilderness<sup>5</sup>, or to adopt the glaring contradictions contained in the speech of Stephen<sup>6</sup>, which no ingenuity can reconcile. This speech cannot have been delivered in Greek, and its errors cannot even be ascribed to the writer, since they have been borrowed from the Alexandrian version.

<sup>1</sup> "Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses."—2 Tim. iii. 8.

<sup>2</sup> "And Salmon begat Boaz of Rachab; and Boaz begat Obed of Ruth; and Obed begat Jesse."—Matth. i. 5.

<sup>3</sup> "And he came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene."—Matth. ii. 23.

<sup>4</sup> "And all the congregation of the children of Israel journeyed from the wilderness of Sin, after their journeys, according to the commandment of the Lord, and pitched in Rephidim: and there was no water for the people to drink."—Exod. xvii. 1, &c.

<sup>5</sup> "And did all drink the same spiritual drink: for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them."—1 Cor. x. 4. according to the Targum on Isaiah xvi. 1. Compare Ammon, *Fortbildung des Christenthums* (Development of Christianity), i. 135.

<sup>6</sup> Acts vii.

## CHAPTER XXI.

## THE PROMULGATION OF THE LAW UNDER JOSIAH (B.C. 624), AND THE OCCASION THEREOF.

IF at this stage of our inquiry we once more look back on the long period of more than 800 years, from the obscurest recesses of primæval history down to the time of the Babylonish Exile, we shall find that the conclusions of Antonius von Dale have been proved to their fullest extent<sup>1</sup>. No mention whatever, he says, is made of any public reading or promulgation of the law for a period of 530 years down to the reign of Jehosaphat<sup>2</sup>, nor for the second period of 282 years, which intervened between Jehosaphat and Josiah; and he further declares, that no acquaintance with the Pentateuch can be traced in the early history of the civilization of the Israelitish people.

A closer examination of the books of the law themselves has led us to precisely the same result; inasmuch as it is abundantly manifest, from their whole contents and spirit, that they could not possibly have been written until near the end of this period.

But it may be said, *Is it probable that history would have been silent as to the later composition of the Pentateuch?* History has at all events announced the promulga-

<sup>1</sup> De Orig. et Prog. Idolol. p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> According to the apocryphal account of teaching the law in the Chronicles. See *supra*, Chap. XIX. p. 228.

tion of that work in terms sufficiently distinct for all who are disposed to listen to them; it has reported, with apparent satisfaction, the success with which it was attended, and has even enabled us to assign the very year of the first appearance of the Levitical code, viz. the 624th year before the birth of Christ.

Let us now examine in detail the remarkable narrative of this important event which is given in the 22nd chapter of the 2nd book of Kings<sup>1</sup>.

King Josiah mounted the throne of Judah after the death of Amon, at the age of eight years, and he reigned thirty-one years (B.C. 642–611). “He turned not aside to the right hand or to the left, but did that which was right in the sight of Jehovah.” In the eighteenth year of his reign that prince sent the scribe Shaphan into the temple to the high-priest Hilkiah, that he might pay the workmen and builders who were employed in repairing the temple out of the freewill-offerings of the people. On this occasion the high-priest delivered a writing to the scribe with these words, “I have found the book of the law in the house of Jehovah<sup>2</sup>.” Shaphan took the book to the king and read it before him, after he had said that “the priest had given him a book<sup>3</sup>.” When king Josiah had heard the words of the book he rent his clothes, and commanded Hilkiah, Shaphan, and his son Ahikam, Achbor [the son of Michaiah,] and Asahiah, the officer, to inquire of Jehovah for him and his people concerning the words of the book; “for great was the wrath of Jehovah because their fathers had not hearkened to the words of this book.” These men

<sup>1</sup> Compare 2 Chronicles xxxiv. See De Wette, *Contrib.* i. 168, &c.

<sup>2</sup> “Sapher hatorah matsa’ thiy beváyth yehoah.”—2 *Kings*, xxii. 8.

<sup>3</sup> “Sapher nathaz liy chilekiyah hachéz.”—2 *Kings* xxii. 10.

then went to consult Huldah the prophetess, and she answered them in a strain which may well excite our astonishment, predicting evil in the very same spirit which breathes through the book itself; nay, if we may trust to the historian, she even adopted the very words employed in Deuteronomy, expressly referring to the curses which that book contains, denouncing the worship of other gods, and promising the king a happy death in consideration of his humility and contrition. Josiah next assembled the elders of the people, and went himself to the temple, where he once more read all the words of the book in the ears of all the men of Judah, all the dwellers in Jerusalem, and all the priests and prophets. With the help of Hilkiah, the king then commenced a thorough reformation, and in the same year he celebrated the passover in such a way as it had not been celebrated since the time of the Judges<sup>1</sup>; he also put an end to every species of idolatry. He traversed his kingdom from one end to the other, with a view to destroy all instruments of idolatry, and he pursued the work of conversion with a violence that would have seemed little calculated to have conciliated the love of his people, but yet with a success which (supposing Zephaniah to have written *after* this movement) would appear to have been far from complete<sup>2</sup>. He ordered the priests belonging to other religions to be burnt on their own altars<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> "Surely there was not holden such a passover from the days of the judges that judged Israel, nor in all the days of the kings of Israel, nor of the kings of Judah."—2 *Kings* xxiii. 22.

<sup>2</sup> "And them that worship the host of heaven upon the house-tops; and them that worship and that swear by the Lord, and that swear by Malcham."—*Zeph.* i. 5.

<sup>3</sup> "And he slew all the priests of the high places that were there upon the altars, and burned men's bones upon them, and returned to Jerusalem."—2 *Kings* xxiii. 20.



(an early example of the Inquisition), he broke down the huts of licentiousness that were by the temple<sup>1</sup>, removed the chariot of the sun from the front of its gate, and destroyed the high places before Jerusalem, which Solomon had made for the worship of Astarte. All this, we are told, (verse 24) was done "that he might perform *the words of the law which were written in the book which Hilkiah the priest had found*;" and we are struck at once by the fact, that all these are the very abominations which are also described at their climax in the Pentateuch, and are especially the objects of denunciation in the laws of the book of Deuteronomy, which the arm of worldly power here for the first time puts into execution.

Before proceeding further, however, we must briefly reply to the suppositions with regard to this narrative which some critics have been only too ready to make.

Josiah began his reform *after* the finding of the law, and not *before* it, as Jahn would insinuate<sup>2</sup>; and although the previous purification of the worship, which the Chronicles tell us took place in the twelfth year of the reign of Josiah, is not incredible under a prince so governed by priests and so well-pleasing to Jehovah, and many preliminary attempts were probably made to insure the success of the principal movement, still the arguments which Movers has adduced<sup>3</sup> to prove that the details in the Kings are interpolations wherever they are opposed to the Chronicles, are altogether too weak and untenable to impair in the

<sup>1</sup> "And he brake down the houses of the sodomites that were by the house of the Lord, where the women wove hangings for the grove."—*2 Kings* xxiii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Einleitung (Introduction) ii. 90.

<sup>3</sup> Movers, p. 334, &c.

slightest degree the credit of the earlier history. In a Levitical author, and one so devoted to the interests of his order, the assertion that an *entire people* had at once gone over to a purer faith must not be interpreted too strictly. Besides it is not denied, that even at the present day the most important laws might be generally known without the existence of any written code. But are we to suppose that even an idolatrous prince, who had admitted many gods into his temple, in addition to the worship of Jehovah, could not or would not repair that building when it actually required it? Or are we to suppose that Jehovah, the Deity of the nation, could not or would not obtain his offering of incense, as well as the idol Astarte or any other image that might happen to be peaceably installed in his temple? Lastly, let Movers prove that Josiah ascended the throne so precisely at the commencement of the new year, that the eighteenth year of his reign must have reached exactly from one Passover to the other. Those who are familiar with the general want of precision in the biblical writers, will find little difficulty in the phrase (verse 33) "and the king commanded the whole people," which is commonly employed as a connective: the narrator, in fact, merely mentioned the Passover incidentally, while the great religious reform was the grand object that engrossed his attention.

Some critics (as Bertholdt and Sack) speak of the *recovery* of the law, while others have suggested that it was found by the builders and perhaps at the side of the money-chest which Jehoiada the priest had placed at the entrance of the temple. All this however is mere supposition, and is opposed to the text, according to which Hilkiah is said to have found *in the temple the book of THE* (definite article)

*law (sapher hatorah)*; so that the nature and extent of this book are the only points that are left undetermined. Bertholdt<sup>1</sup> assumes that what was found was the whole of the Pentateuch, because the principal laws concerning the celebration of the passover are contained in Exodus<sup>2</sup>. We are told, however, that "all the words of the book" were read, first to the king, and afterwards to the assembled people<sup>3</sup>; and we consider it more reasonable to suppose, with Vater, that a short abstract of the laws, or at most that the fifth book of the Pentateuch, is here referred to. The book of Deuteronomy is the first which appears in quotations (in 2 Kings, 2 Chronicles, Nehemiah and Daniel<sup>4</sup>), and in these too (which is never the case with the other books) it is expressly ascribed to Moses,—a circumstance which has led Eichhorn to the arbitrary assumption of a separate national code. Deuteronomy also varies in not a few cases from the other books of the law, and does not venture as yet to speak of the firstlings or of the tithes of the priests<sup>5</sup>. It contains moreover directions for the celebration of the Passover<sup>6</sup>, and a chapter of threats and curses, well suited to alarm king Josiah, which are particularly deserving of notice<sup>7</sup>. In no other

<sup>1</sup> Program. Erlang. 1817.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter xii. Comp. Numbers xxviii. 16, &c.

<sup>3</sup> "And the king went up into the house of the Lord, and all the men of Judah and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem with him, and the priests, and the prophets, and all the people, both small and great: and he read in their ears all the words of the book of the covenant which was found in the house of the Lord."—2 Kings xxiii. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Compare 2 Kings xiv. 6. Jos. viii. 31. 2 Chron. xxv. 4. with Deut. xxiv. 16; Nehem. xiii. 1, with Deut. xxiii. 3; Dan. ix. 13. with Deut. xxviii.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Deut. xviii. 1, with Numb. xviii. 11, &c., especially Vater, Comment. p. 573.

<sup>6</sup> Deut. xvi. 1–12.

<sup>7</sup> Deut. chap. xxvii.

part of the Pentateuch is it announced in such express terms, that Jehovah would drive the king into exile<sup>1</sup>, and according to the Talmud<sup>2</sup>, and the parallel passage in the Chronicles, these were the chapters of Deuteronomy<sup>3</sup> which were read before the king.

There is, however, something peculiar in the manner in which the discovery of the book [of the law] is related, and importance is evidently attached to the fact of this discovery, since it is placed at the very commencement of the reign of Josiah, who had been purposely referred to in a previous chapter as the destroyer of idolatry<sup>4</sup>. Under these circumstances, the doubting critic may perhaps be allowed to inquire, what proof there is that Hilkiah the priest had really found this manuscript, and had not himself placed it in the spot where he afterwards discovered it? The manuscript lay in the *Temple*, and probably the Holy of Holies would have been the most appropriate place

<sup>1</sup> "The Lord shall bring thee, and thy king which thou shalt set over thee, unto a nation which neither thou nor thy fathers have known; and there shalt thou serve other gods, wood and stone.....And the Lord shall scatter thee among all people, from the one end of the earth even unto the other; and there thou shalt serve other gods, which neither thou nor thy fathers have known, even wood and stone."—*Deut.* xxviii. 36, 64.

<sup>2</sup> Tract. Joma, c. 5.

<sup>3</sup> ["All the curses that are written in the book which they have read before the king of Judah."—2 *Chron.* xxxiv. 24. These curses are contained in *Deut.* xxviii. 15–68, and are referred to nearly in the same words as in the Chronicles in the next chapter of Deuteronomy. "The anger of the Lord was kindled against this land, to bring upon it all the curses that are written in this book."—*Deut.* xxix. 27.]

<sup>4</sup> "And he cried against the altar in the word of the Lord, and said, O altar, altar, thus saith the Lord; Behold, a child shall be born unto the house of David, Josiah by name; and upon thee shall he offer the priests of the high places that burn incense upon thee, and men's bones shall be burnt upon thee."—1 *Kings* xiii. 2.

for it; but from the time of Solomon downwards, the whole sanctuary had been so frequently employed as a temple for various gods, that the well-known enactment of the law, which allowed the high-priest alone to enter its precincts, could not have been put in force until the whole system of the priesthood of Jehovah had become fully established, and indeed this exclusive privilege of the high-priest rested originally on the Pentateuch.

In the holy of holies was placed the ark of the covenant, but it is admitted that there was nothing in it except the two tables of stone<sup>1</sup>; and, even supposing that the roll of the law had been found in the ark, this circumstance would not assist in proving the authenticity of the manuscript. The ark itself was at one time in the hands of the Philistines, and during a considerable period was even lost sight of entirely by the Israelites. In the course of centuries, it must have stood in need of being renewed, and even those who can believe that after the lapse of a thousand years it still remained uninjured, which no one has ventured to do, must be content, with Jahn, Eichhorn and Vitringa<sup>2</sup>, to assign the same age to the Mosaic roll, since no proof can be adduced down to this time of the existence of the Pentateuch. But in the trying climate of Palestine this book would have been injured, if not reduced to ashes, of whatever material it may be imagined that it was made; and its very name [*sapher*] proves it to have been written either on parchment or skin. The character in which it was

<sup>1</sup> "There was nothing in the ark save the two tables of stone, which Moses put there at Horeb, when the Lord made a covenant with the children of Israel, when they came out of the land of Egypt."—1 *Kings* viii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> De Synagog. Vet. p. 395.

written is a difficulty which Eichhorn dismisses briefly, and yet this character must have been perfectly obsolete and unintelligible [in the reign of Josiah], but Shaphan the scribe reads it with as much ease as if he himself had engrossed it. Finally, it is worthy of remark, that the book of Deuteronomy itself provides<sup>1</sup> that the book of the law shall be placed *by the side* of the ark, and *not in it*; and this may have been inserted in order to increase the probability of an early discovery.

All these various doubts, which force themselves on our notice on the first and most cursory view of this transaction, will be found, on a closer examination, to assume a more serious character. Hilkiah produces the manuscript as a book which, until that time, had been unknown; and it is the Chronicles, possibly feeling the suspicion which might have attached itself to the high-priest, which first ascribe it to Moses<sup>2</sup>. This assertion of its origin is also repeated by Josephus<sup>3</sup>. But, it may be asked, why did not Hilkiah himself, in the general narrative, ascribe a source to the book which would have added so much weight to its authority? And if the laws had been ever heard of, why should the discovery of this book excite such great astonishment? None of the older critics can assign any other reason for this sensation than that which is implied in the text, which leaves us to infer that neither the high-priest nor the king had any previous knowledge of the book<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Deut. xxxi. 26. "In the side of the ark."

<sup>2</sup> "And when they brought out the money that was brought into the house of the Lord, Hilkiah the priest found a book of the law of the Lord given by Moses."—2 *Chron.* xxxiv. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Archæol. 10, 4, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Capellus Diatribe, p. 159: "There must have been very few

Jahn and Eichhorn were the first to attribute this surprise to the sight of the autograph of Moses.

Why, we would further inquire, were all the priests and elders assembled to hear the reading of the roll? and why need a prophetess be previously consulted respecting it?

If, down to this time, the high-priest had had the law in his possession, what assurance do we possess that he had made no change in its enactments? why was the publication of it so very long delayed, and at last made public under such peculiar circumstances? Josiah was a child when he first ascended the throne, and he was twenty-six years of age when the law was read. During all this time he must have been entirely in the hands of the priests, and must have been carefully trained in the discipline of the Levites, since he is said to have done what was right in the sight of Jehovah. Indeed, in such cases the princes of later times, who betray a theocratic training, were placed under the guardianship of the high-priest himself. We must observe, besides, that Hilkiyah, who then filled the office of high-priest, would have been singularly wanting in his duty if he had knowingly kept back from his sovereign a copy of that law, in which he was commanded to read all the days of his life<sup>1</sup>. But the king is ignorant of the written law; it fills him with amazement, and he begins at once to put its commands into practice. Indeed his

books of the law, at that time, when this roll appeared to be a prodigy and a miracle to the high-priest himself," whose wonder, by the way, is not noticed in the text. See also Vitringa, p. 389; Von Dale, p. 67, &c.

<sup>1</sup> "And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life: that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, to keep all the words of this law and these statutes, to do them."—*Deut.* xvii. 19.

zeal in enforcing the law affords in itself a clear proof how well he had been previously prepared for it, and it shows us that this new impulse was all that was wanting to induce him to take vigorous measures for the reformation of the national religion. Hence it was said of him that before Josiah there was no king like him, who lived according to all the law, neither was there after him any other like him<sup>1</sup>.

The foregoing arguments, which cannot easily be invalidated, may have influenced Anthony von Dale to hint that the book of the law was written by Hilkiah; and they led De Wette, Volney and Leo<sup>2</sup> to conclude that it is not impossible that the high-priest may have substituted some composition of his own, which, from the preceding remarks, would appear to have been the book of Deuteronomy. Hartmann<sup>3</sup> also adopts the idea of a preconcerted plan, and it seems very probable that this may be ascribed to a band of theocratic patriots, who had thought themselves compelled by the circumstances of the time to have recourse to such means in order to supply a firm foundation for the popular belief, and at the same time to increase the authority of the priesthood. This little band consisted probably of the high-priest Hilkiah and his son Jeremiah, the prophetess Huldah, the scribe Shaphan and his son Ahikam (a faithful friend of Jeremiah), for the two others [Achbor and Asahiah] may not have been included in the confederacy. In order to place the possible deception which they

<sup>1</sup> "And like unto him was there no king before him, that turned to the Lord with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his might, according to all the law of Moses; neither after him arose there any like him."—2 *Kings* xxiii. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Page 178, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Page 570.



practised in its proper light, we must briefly review the peculiar circumstances of the time.

The Assyrian empire was still in existence, but Cyaxares of Media had defeated its armies, and he had encamped in the preceding year (B.C. 625.) before Nineveh, until an incursion of the Scythians compelled him to raise the siege. These invaders had then but just commenced their desolating march (of which Herodotus speaks<sup>1</sup>), and were pressing the Cimmerians forward before them<sup>2</sup>; they overwhelmed Cyaxares and the Medes, traversed Western Asia as far as the borders of Egypt, and plundered a temple at Ascalon<sup>3</sup>. The prophet Jeremiah, who commenced his career in the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign (B.C. 629.), betrays an evident solicitude lest their hordes should overrun Palestine, if they were not already on its confines. "A seething-pot shall pour itself forth in the north, a great nation of the north, cruel with bows and with horses, a strange nation whose language ye do not understand<sup>4</sup>." The fifth chapter of Jeremiah was written before the reformation of Josiah, for the prophet implies that idolatry still existed in Judæa, and hence it must have been written before the year B.C. 624<sup>5</sup>. The Babylonian kings were powerful, and the priest Hilkiyah had been himself an eye-witness of the captivity of Manasseh the grandfather of Josiah; the kingdom of Israel had fallen as early as the year B.C. 722,—a fact which accounts for the familiarity with the Babylonish exile which is apparent in the Pentateuch. Nabopolassar, who was now on the throne of Babylon, had just succeeded in establishing his inde-

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus i. 103, 106.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i. 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* i. 105.

<sup>4</sup> Jerem. v. 15; vi. 1 and 22, l. 3 and 9.

<sup>5</sup> See Hitzig, *Krit.* p. 178.

pendence, and Josiah, who possessed but little political power, had formed an alliance with him. This was not all; Egypt had concentrated its power under Psammetichus, and his son Necho was now pursuing his conquests towards Syria. He, as well as Cyniladan and Sarac of Assyria, had Babylonia particularly in view, and all the three powers we have mentioned regarded each other with a jealous animosity which made it easy to foresee that a serious crisis was at hand. The fall of Babylon had indeed been already foretold by Jeremiah<sup>1</sup>, and his prophecy was fully confirmed by the event. At length, in B.C. 611, Necho took the field against the Assyrians, but his army suffered a defeat, in which Josiah was slain: we next find the Egyptians in B.C. 606. encamped at Carchemish on the Euphrates, where they were a second time defeated<sup>2</sup>. In the following year, B.C. 605, Nebuchadnezzar appeared in Judæa with a large army, which had been augmented by many of the Moabites and Ammonites, and took Jerusalem<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> "And it shall come to pass, when seventy years are accomplished, that I will punish the king of Babylon, and that nation, saith the Lord, for their iniquity, and the land of the Chaldeans, and will make it perpetual desolations."—*Jerem.* xxv. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Jerem.* xlv. 2 :—"Against Egypt, against the army of Pharaoh-necho king of Egypt, which was by the river Euphrates in Carchemish, which Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon smote in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah."—*Jerem.* xlv. 2.

<sup>3</sup> "And the Lord sent against him bands of the Chaldees, and bands of the Syrians, and bands of the Moabites, and bands of the children of Ammon, and sent them against Judah to destroy it, according to the word of the Lord, which he spake by his servants the prophets."—*2 Kings* xxiv. 2.

"But it came to pass, when Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon came up into the land, that we said, Come, and let us go to Jerusalem for fear of the army of the Chaldeans, and for fear of the army of the Syrians: so we dwell at Jerusalem."—*Jerem.* xxxv. 11.

In all these wars the Jewish people must have been necessarily crushed, had they not been united among themselves, and connected with some more powerful sovereign. They were at this period manifestly under the protection of Babylon; and traces of this power, as well as of the connection in which it stood to the Jews, are distinctly visible in more than one passage of the Pentateuch<sup>1</sup>; so that this would appear to be precisely the period when it might be of the greatest advantage to deduce the origin of the Hebrew people from Mesopotamia. Apart, therefore, from the idea which naturally suggested itself of drawing up a written code of law, it must have appeared desirable at this critical conjuncture to devise some means of reviving the national character; and while a statesman would perhaps have adopted some other expedient, a high priest (in concert with his son Jeremiah, whom we know from his own writings to have been an ardent patriot,) wisely had recourse to religion, and was encouraged by the popular tradition, that once on a similar occasion the power of Moses had succeeded in uniting the people. The discovery of the book of the law thus appears to have been the result of a well-considered scheme, designed to invigorate the nation by a new constitution, to unite the people more closely together, and to call forth a spirit of independence. It must be confessed, as was before remarked, that the hierarchy may at the same time have had their own interests in view; but even under such circumstances the charge of deceit should not be brought forward. "For though it be true," as Lessing has well observed, "that moral actions considered in themselves must ever remain the same, however different the time or the

<sup>1</sup> See Comment. on Gen. x. 10.

people, it does not therefore follow that the same actions should always receive the same names; and it is by no means just to give to any action a different name from that which it commonly received at that particular time and in that particular people."

It was at a period of social anarchy, of exactly similar character, that the Decretals of Isidore made their appearance in the ninth century; and the cases are strictly parallel, as these Decretals were expressly designed to give authority and support to the papacy. In both instances the temper of the times was favourable, and, even had it been otherwise, an imposition of the kind could have been scarcely suspected among the Israelites of that day, if their king and priests had been in concert; inasmuch as it is evident from the attempt itself, and from the success which attended it, that even at that time all knowledge of literature was confined to a small circle of learned Levites<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This restriction of learning to the Levites has also been noticed by Hüllmann, p. 89.

## CHAPTER XXII.

## POINTS OF SIMILARITY IN DEUTERONOMY AND JEREMIAH.—GENERAL REVIEW OF THE LEVITICAL LAW.

THE correctness of the origin which we have assigned in the last chapter to the books of the law is confirmed by a series of the most convincing arguments. We shall here commence with one to which we have previously adverted,—the number, namely, of words, favourite terms of expression, and peculiar phrases which are common to Jeremiah and Deuteronomy, and some of which are not to be found in any other writings<sup>1</sup>. To this class belong the image of the “iron furnace<sup>2</sup>,” the constant phrase “to scatter among the people,” or “among the heathen,” in speaking of the Babylonish exile<sup>3</sup>; and again, “to cir-

<sup>1</sup> See Gesenius, *Geschichte der Heb. Spr.* (History of the Hebrew Language) p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> “But the Lord hath taken you, and brought you forth out of the iron furnace, even out of Egypt, to be unto him a people of inheritance, as ye are this day.”—*Deut.* iv. 20.

“Which I commanded your fathers in the day that I brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, from the iron furnace, saying, Obey my voice, and do them, according to all which I command you: so shall ye be my people, and I will be your God.”—*Jerem.* xi. 4.

And in no other passage does this occur except the following:—

“For they be thy people, and thine inheritance, which thou broughtest forth out of Egypt, from the midst of the furnace of iron.”—*1 Kings* viii. 51.

<sup>3</sup> “And the Lord shall scatter you among the nations, and ye shall

cumcise the heart," or "the foreskin of the heart<sup>1</sup>,"—"to pollute the land," in speaking of divorce<sup>2</sup>;—"cursed be he that fulfilleth not all the words of this law<sup>3</sup>;"—"thou shalt become a proverb and a byword among all nations where Jehovah has driven thee<sup>4</sup>;" and here it must

be left few in number among the heathen, whither the Lord shall lead you."—*Deut.* iv. 27.

"I will scatter them also among the heathen, whom neither they nor their fathers have known: and I will send a sword after them, till I have consumed them."—*Jerem.* ix. 16.

<sup>1</sup> "Circumcise therefore the foreskin of your heart, and be no more stiff-necked."—*Deut.* x. 16.

"And the Lord thy God will circumcise thine heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, that thou mayest live."—*Deut.* xxx. 6.

"Circumcise yourselves to the Lord, and take away the foreskins of your heart, ye men of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem: lest my fury come forth like fire, and burn that none can quench it, because of the evil of your doings."—*Jerem.* iv. 4.

"Egypt, and Judah, and Edom, and the children of Ammon, and Moab, and all that are in the utmost corners, that dwell in the wilderness: for all these nations are uncircumcised, and all the house of Israel are uncircumcised in the heart."—*Jerem.* ix. 26.

<sup>2</sup> "Her former husband, which sent her away, may not take her again to be his wife, after that she is defiled; for that is abomination before the Lord: and thou shalt not cause the land to sin, which the Lord thy God giveth thee for an inheritance."—*Deut.* xxiv. 4.

"They say, If a man put away his wife, and she go from him, and become another man's, shall he return unto her again? shall not that land be greatly polluted?"—*Jerem.* iii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> "Cursed be he that confirmeth not all the words of this law to do them."—*Deut.* xxvii. 26.

"And say thou unto them, Thus saith the Lord God of Israel; Cursed be the man that obeyeth not the words of this covenant."—*Jerem.* xi. 3.

<sup>4</sup> "And thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a byword, among all nations whither the Lord shall lead thee."—*Deut.* xxviii. 37.

"And I will deliver them to be removed into all the kingdoms of

be observed that the Prophet refers this threat to the future;—"a nation from afar whose tongue thou shalt not understand<sup>1</sup>,"—"horses swifter than eagles<sup>2</sup>." Both works employ the fearful threat "thou shalt eat the flesh of thy sons and daughters," which is not found in any other book<sup>3</sup>;—"the Lord will turn thy captivity [*shub shebuth*] and gather thee together again<sup>4</sup>,"—"hear, O earth, the

the earth for their hurt, to be a reproach and a proverb, a taunt and a curse, in all places whither I shall drive them."—*Jerem.* xxiv. 9.

<sup>1</sup> "The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from afar, from the end of the earth, as swift as the eagle flieth; a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand."—*Deut.* xxviii. 49.

"Lo, I will bring a nation upon you from afar, O house of Israel, saith the Lord: it is a mighty nation, it is an ancient nation, a nation whose language thou knowest not, neither understandest what they say."—*Jerem.* v. 15.

"Thus saith the Lord, Behold, a people cometh from the north country, and a great nation shall be raised from the sides of the earth." *Jerem.* vi. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Deut.* xxviii. 49. See last note.

"Behold, he shall come up as clouds, and his chariots shall be as a whirlwind: his horses are swifter than eagles."—*Jerem.* iv. 13.

<sup>3</sup> "And thou shalt eat the fruit of thine own body, the flesh of thy sons and of thy daughters, which the Lord thy God hath given thee, in the siege, and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee."—*Deut.* xxviii. 53.

"And I will cause them to eat the flesh of their sons and the flesh of their daughters, and they shall eat every one the flesh of his friend in the siege and straitness, wherewith their enemies, and they that seek their lives, shall straiten them."—*Jerem.* xix. 9.

<sup>4</sup> "That then the Lord thy God will turn thy captivity, and have compassion upon thee, and will return and gather thee from all the nations whither the Lord thy God hath scattered thee."—*Deut.* xxx. 3.

"And I will be found of you, saith the Lord: and I will turn away your captivity, and I will gather you from all the nations, and from all the places whither I have driven you, saith the Lord: and I will bring you again into the place whence I caused you to be carried away captive."—*Jerem.* xxix. 14.

words of my mouth<sup>1</sup>,"—"A fire is kindled in mine anger<sup>2</sup>,"—"Israel shall dwell in safety<sup>3</sup>."

Both books denounce, and almost exclusively, the worship of the Sun and Moon<sup>4</sup>, both give warnings against false prophets<sup>5</sup>, and Leviticus is the only other book which condemns the practice of cutting the body as a sign of

<sup>1</sup> "Give ear, O ye heavens, and I will speak; and hear, O earth, the words of my mouth."—*Deut.* xxxii. 1.

"Hear, O earth: behold, I will bring evil upon this people, even the fruit of their thoughts, because they have not hearkened unto my words, nor to my law, but rejected it."—*Jerem.* vi. 19.

<sup>2</sup> "For a fire is kindled in mine anger, and shall burn unto the lowest hell, and shall consume the earth with her increase, and set on fire the foundations of the mountains."—*Deut.* xxxii. 22.

"For a fire is kindled in mine anger, which shall burn upon you."—*Jerem.* xv. 14.

"For ye have kindled a fire in mine anger, which shall burn for ever."—*Jerem.* xvii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> "Israel then shall dwell in safety alone."—*Deut.* xxxiii. 28.

"In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely."—*Jerem.* xxiii. 6.

"In those days shall Judah be saved, and Jerusalem shall dwell safely."—*Jerem.* xxxiii. 16.

<sup>4</sup> "And hath gone and served other gods, and worshipped them, either the sun, or moon, or any of the host of heaven, which I have not commanded."—*Deut.* xvii. 3.

"And they shall spread them [the bones] before the sun and the moon, and all the host of heaven, whom they have loved, and whom they have served, and after whom they have walked, and whom they have sought, and whom they have worshipped."—*Jerem.* viii. 2.

<sup>5</sup> "If there arise among you a prophet or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder."—*Deut.* xiii. 1.

"But the prophet which shall presume to speak a word in my name which I have not commanded him to speak, or that shall speak in the name of other gods, even that prophet shall die."—*Deut.* xviii. 20.

"Then said I, Ah, Lord God! behold, the prophets say unto them, Ye shall not see the sword, neither shall ye have famine; but I will give you assured peace in this place."—*Jer.* xiv. 13.

"Thus saith the Lord of hosts, Harken not unto the words of the prophets that prophesy unto you: they make you vain: they speak a



mourning for the dead<sup>1</sup>. This degree of family likeness running through the two books [of Deuteronomy and Jeremiah], without any proof of imitation on either side, or any marks of resemblance to the other books in the Bible, cannot have been the mere effect of chance. Father and son must, it is evident, have laboured in common on this compendium of the law; and a tradition has actually been preserved which assigns to Jeremiah the merit of assisting in the preservation of the law<sup>2</sup>, and Nachtigal has already considered him as the compiler<sup>3</sup>. In the other books of the Pentateuch only a few scattered forms and expressions occur which are also to be found in Jeremiah<sup>4</sup>; and if we consider the common usage which prevailed through the language of the whole of this period, these examples can

vision of their own heart, and not out of the mouth of the Lord. They say still unto them that despise me, The Lord hath said, Ye shall have peace; and they say unto every one that walketh after the imagination of his own heart, No evil shall come upon you."—*Jer.* xxiii. 16, 17.

<sup>1</sup> "Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you: I am the Lord."—*Lev.* xix. 28.

"Ye are the children of the Lord your God: ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead."—*Deut.* xiv. 1.

"Both the great and the small shall die in this land: they shall not be buried, neither shall men lament for them, nor cut themselves, nor make themselves bald for them."—*Jer.* xvi. 6.

"There came certain from Shechem, from Shiloh, and from Samaria, even fourscore men, having their beards shaven, and their clothes rent, and having cut themselves."—*Jer.* xli. 5.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Macc. ii. 1–13.

<sup>3</sup> Henke's *Magaz.* iv. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Compare the following verses:—

"And God blessed them, saying, Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the waters in the seas, and let fowl multiply in the earth."—*Gen.* i. 22.

"And it shall come to pass, when ye be multiplied and increased in the land."—*Jer.* iii. 16.

"And I will gather the remnant of my flock out of all countries

hardly be entitled to much weight. The following parallel may perhaps appear more striking :—

*Num.* xxi. 28, 29.

“ For there is a fire gone out of Heshbon.

“ A flame from the city of Sihon.

“ It hath consumed Ar of Moab.

“ And the lords of the high places of Arnon.

“ Woe to thee, Moab.

“ Thou art undone, O people of Chemosh.

“ He hath given his sons that escaped,

“ And his daughters into captivity.”

*Jer.* xlvi. 45, 46.

“ But a fire shall come forth out of Heshbon.

“ And a flame from the midst of Sihon.

“ And shall devour the corner [or side] of Moab.

“ And the crown of the head of the tumultuous [or warlike] ones.

“ Woe be unto thee, O Moab.

“ The people of Chemosh perisheth.

“ For thy sons are taken captive,

“ And thy daughters captives.

[This is the received text ; the resemblance is still greater in the Hebrew, which is given by Von Bohlen.]

Here we may observe that this passage in the prophet is part of a well-connected prediction directed against the Moabites, of which it forms the powerful termination ;

whither I have driven them, and will bring them again to their folds ; and they shall be fruitful and increase.”—*Jer.* xxiii. 3.

“ And the Angel of the Lord called unto Abraham out of heaven the second time.....And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed ; because thou hast obeyed my voice.”—*Gen.* xxii. 15, 18.

“ Be fruitful and multiply.”—*Gen.* xxxv. 11.

“ The Lord liveth, in truth, in judgement, and in righteousness ; and the nations shall bless themselves in him, and in him shall they glory.”—*Jer.* iv. 2.

“ And God Almighty bless thee, and make thee fruitful, and multiply thee, that thou mayest be a multitude of people.”—*Gen.* xxviii. 3.

“ For, lo, I will raise and cause to come up against Babylon an assembly of great nations from the north country.”—*Jer.* l. 9.

See Ewald, *Composit. der Genesis*, p. 287.

whereas, in the book of Numbers it is cited while the people were still in the land of the Amorites, and their entrance upon the territory of the Moabites is only mentioned in the twenty-second chapter. We may observe further, that in the next verse (xxi. 30) the author of Numbers continues his imitations, probably following in this instance Isaiah<sup>1</sup>, and in aiming at greater distinctness he has sacrificed much of the true poetic colouring of his original. Jeremiah poetically uses the name of the ancient prince Sihon<sup>2</sup> for that of Heshbon the city of Sihon; while the author of Numbers adds the word *kirjath* (city): Jeremiah employed the poetical phrase "side of Moab" and "crown of the head of the sons of war," while the author of Numbers specifies the capital Ar, and adopts the prosaic paraphrase "the lords of the high places of Arnon;" the use too of *'ish* as a feminine, as well as the concluding words of the passage in Numbers, are in stricter conformity with ordinary usage. Yet, notwithstanding all this, it is impossible to prove that the author of Numbers borrowed directly from Jeremiah; the mention of the important city of Heshbon appears to have reminded him of these ancient verses, which had become proverbial (Numb. xxi. 27<sup>3</sup>), and it is possible that both writers may have quoted the whole passage from memory.

<sup>1</sup> "He is gone to Bajith, and to Dibon, the high places, to weep: Moab shall howl over Nebo, and over Medeba."—*Isaiah* xv. 2.

"Heshbon is perished even unto Dibon, and we have laid them waste even unto Nophah, which reacheth unto Medeba."—*Numb.* xxi. 30.

<sup>2</sup> "And Israel sent messengers unto Sihon king of the Amorites, the king of Heshbon."—*Judges* xi. 19. See *Jer.* xlvi. 45. Compare the following verses:—

"Sihon king of the Amorites."—*Psalms* cxxxv. 11.

"Sihon king of Heshbon."—*Deut.* ii. 26.

<sup>3</sup> *'el kan yo'meru ha-mshaleym.*

Although therefore we can hazard no further conjecture as to the internal arrangement of the first four books of the Pentateuch than that Jeremiah *may* have been possibly concerned in revising them for the public eye, our principal position, *that these four books, as well as Deuteronomy, were never made public before the reign of Josiah*, remains an incontrovertible result of criticism, which has already acquired such force and consistency, both from external and internal evidence, that neither plausible arguments nor sophisms can have any power to shake it.

It has been shown that the errors of the Pentateuch in regard both to geography and history, its mythical chronology and anachronisms, as well as its fictitious names and numbers, bring it very nearly to the reign of Josiah; and that the peculiarities of its more recent language, and the express allusions which it contains to the so-called Captivity, concur in pointing to the same date. It has further been proved, from the history of the Jews, that their constitution was gradually formed from a rude government of tribes<sup>1</sup>, that it was not until the time of Samuel that the nation had risen even to the lowest grade of culture, and that from his age down to the Babylonish exile no other standard of worship existed than that which a few enlightened men (particularly the prophets) had prescribed, and which had been acknowledged by the sacerdotal caste in their gradual rise to power. It has been shown, that even the wise king Solomon was an open patron of idolatry, that idolatry was practised at every period without let or hindrance, and even in the temple itself; nay that it held its ground so firmly until the reign of Josiah, with all its abominations, its licentious service and its barbarous offerings to Moloch,

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, p. 134.

that Jeremiah complained there were as many gods as cities<sup>1</sup>, while the kings Ahaz and Manasseh actually offered their own sons in sacrifice<sup>2</sup>; and with this state of society the laws of the Pentateuch are found to agree in all points.

Finally, it has been shown that the Levitical regulations with reference to festivals and ceremonies were not made known until after the reign of Josiah, and that it was at that time that the written law first came into force; that after the return from Babylon (whither we are unable to follow it) the law was publicly read in the temple; and when it is seen, in addition to all these facts, that the various chronological, historical and geographical problems which are presented in the Pentateuch find a natural solution in the later date of that work, (as will be shown more particularly in Genesis), the time of the composition of the Pentateuch may be confidently said to have been proved beyond all doubt.

Hartmann closes his inquiries concerning the Penta-

<sup>1</sup> "For according to the number of thy cities were thy gods, O Judah; and according to the number of the streets of Jerusalem have ye set up altars to that shameful thing, even altars to burn incense unto Baal."—*Jer.* xi. 13.

<sup>2</sup> "But he [king Ahaz] walked in the way of the kings of Israel, yea, and made his son to pass through the fire, according to the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord cast out from before the children of Israel."—2 *Kings* xvi. 3.

"And he [king Manasseh] made his son pass through the fire, and observed times, and used enchantments, and dealt with familiar spirits and wizards: he wrought much wickedness in the sight of the Lord, to provoke him to anger."—2 *Kings* xxi. 6.

"And they have built the high places of Tophet, which is in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire; which I commanded them not, neither came it into my heart."—*Jer.* vii. 31.

teuch with the following words<sup>1</sup>: "Written collections of the laws increase in number during the period of the later kings, and in the age of a Jeremiah and an Ezekiel we may presume that all the essential elements of the Pentateuch were already in existence; but the completion of the whole in its present form was the result of the Babylonish exile." This is the conclusion at which every unprejudiced inquirer must arrive. Such an inquirer need not stoop to indulge, as Eichhorn expresses it, "in frivolous witticisms on the Pentateuch," unless when chimerical theories or empty declamation excite his just displeasure, nor need he feel himself obliged to "decide upon facts *à priori*." But what else is it than a conclusion *à priori*, or pre-determined judgement, of this very critic, when he regards it as a marvellous circumstance, "that the far-famed monuments of the most enlightened nations of remote antiquity should all have been as good as lost, whilst the oldest writings of the less celebrated Hebrews should have survived the time and the storms which had passed over their nation." Eichhorn's compositor has here shown more scruples than the critic himself, and, by a happy error of the press, has hit upon the truth, in saying, "that these books had now attained an age of more than TWO THOUSAND YEARS<sup>2</sup>."

An objection which might here occur, with reference to the difficulty of supposing that all the narrations of the Pentateuch, (which imply for the most part a peaceful possession of Palestine), and still more that the complicated system of legal enactments ascribed to Moses, should have started suddenly into existence in such unsettled times, has

<sup>1</sup> See Hartmann, p. 584.

<sup>2</sup> Einleitung (Introduction) ii. 235. (3rd edit.)

been already repeatedly answered. Hartmann, as we have seen, alludes to it in his concluding words, and the internal economy of the work itself supplies a complete solution of the difficulty<sup>1</sup>. In the more important legislative portions of the books of the Pentateuch, a progressive development of the laws may be traced; several smaller treatises and special codes may be easily detected, as for instance in Leviticus chap. 1-7, and chap. 11.; in such cases the same laws appear again, sometimes in a modified and sometimes in a more stringent form, at one time with a repetition of the selfsame phrases, at another in an altered shape<sup>2</sup>. We have thus safe grounds for assuming that the laws arose by slow degrees as the hierarchy gained a firmer footing, and were gradually collected in the progress of time, that they possibly existed in a written form in the hands of the priests, and were at last arranged in order by the compiler of the whole. We may confidently affirm that the Levitical law, as Winer has remarked<sup>3</sup> is the written development of the idea already expressed in the covenant with Jehovah, or rather, that this theocratical covenant is only the reflex expression of the Levitical law. We have, on the other hand, the strongest grounds for refusing our assent to the assumption, "that Moses drew up the Decalogue for the use of the people, and consigned to the sacerdotal order the fundamental laws of the constitution;" though the leader of a tribe of shepherds must certainly have adopted such regulations, as necessity suggested, to control the rude multitude.

We shall lay no stress upon the ethical ideas scattered

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter XXIV.

<sup>2</sup> See especially De Wette, i. 265.

<sup>3</sup> Dict. of Bible, under *Gesetz* (law).

through the whole body of the laws, although even Staudlin<sup>1</sup> admits, without giving up on their account the Mosaical character of the Pentateuch, that we may be easily led to attribute to these records a later date than that which has been usually assigned to them. Nevertheless it must not be forgotten that the speculations of the Pentateuch on innocence, the destination of man, and the formation of ranks, on virtue and vice, on sensuality and passion, (such as are only to be found in a later and a philosophizing age,) must, according to the common hypothesis, have been succeeded by a period of rude force and a kind of heroic age, which shows only too plainly that the nation was still in the earliest stage of development, and had yet to be guided, step by step, to the commonest principles of morals.

The simplicity of the Decalogue has been put forward as bearing on its face the proof of its antiquity. It is said that the arbitrary and inartificial manner in which these ten moral precepts have been strung together proves that they could only have been designed for the guidance of the nation in its earliest infancy. But this argument implies the admission of a contrast between the ten commandments and the other portions of the law; for if Moses had considered that such simplicity of legislation was necessary, he could not possibly have been the author of the rest of the complicated system of civil and ritual enactments; and indeed a nation which has not learnt to practise the simplest rudiments of morality, and which requires to be forced to observe them by threats and penalties, can have made very little progress in civilization.

Is it not possible, on the other hand, that these ten

<sup>1</sup> Sittenlehre Jesu (Moral Doctrine of Jesus), i. 77.



commandments (like the similar sentences of the Buddhists,) may have been the results of experience, or abstracted from existing laws and employed as short and useful rules of action? But are the ten commandments in reality so simple? When closely examined, assuredly they are not so. Special injunctions regarding false evidence and love to parents are utterly unsuited to the infancy of a nation, when little need can exist for their first introduction: again, we find in the Decalogue a mention of *strangers within the gate*, and the people are required to keep the sabbath, so that the observance of that day must have been already sanctioned<sup>1</sup>. The worship of one god, without images, is very clearly implied in the commandments, and history informs us at what time this form of worship became triumphant; nay, in the true rabbinical spirit, even the *name of Jehovah* is not to be taken in vain. In Deuteronomy the commandments appear in a somewhat altered form, so that it would seem that they have not come direct from the hand of Moses; the tables of stone are also open to the strongest suspicion, as no living witness had seen them<sup>2</sup>, and no one of the prophets or other teachers of morality, in their denunciations of idolatry or adultery, has ever once appealed to them.

In the other laws of the Pentateuch, however ancient they may appear, it is no longer possible, from its very character, to decide which were founded on ancient usage and tradition, and might possibly have originated in the time of Moses, and which were introduced at a later period as subsequent enactments. Such is the case with the rite of circumcision; this in Genesis is derived from the

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, Chapter XVIII. p. 218.

<sup>2</sup> See *supra*, Chapter IV. p. 31.

patriarchs and the omission of it is made punishable by death<sup>1</sup>, whereas the Levitical law enjoins it a second time as the condition of acquiring civil rights<sup>2</sup>; and the tradition freely admits that this rite was not practised under the jurisdiction of Moses<sup>3</sup>. Unlike those laws which we know to have been founded on usage, as the right of primogeniture, vengeance for blood, and many others, (which are still observed by the Bedoweens, and have retained their traditional force for centuries, although never committed to writing), circumcision has no connection with any popular custom, and, like many other parts of the Levitical law and its ritual, was probably only borrowed from Egypt with the rest of the sacerdotal observances<sup>4</sup>. We know, at least, that from the time of Solomon the intercourse with Egypt was constant and uninterrupted<sup>5</sup>.

Holy rites and ceremonies spring up under every religious system as the spontaneous expressions of faith and veneration for the Deity. In the first instance, they are independent of law, but in the progress of time they are multiplied by the priests, are carried into the smallest details, and are finally erected into a settled system of worship, especially when a hierarchy has reached the summit of its power, the possession of which it can only maintain by a splendid ritual, which lulls the reason to sleep<sup>6</sup>. In such a system the relations between man and man meet with less than usual attention; the Levitical law

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, chap. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> Levit. xii. 3.

<sup>3</sup> See Joshua, v. 2, &c. "All the people that were born in the wilderness by the way as they came forth out of Egypt, they had not circumcised."—*Josh.* v. 5.

<sup>4</sup> See Spencer, *De Legg. Hebr. Rit.* (Lond. 1732.)

<sup>5</sup> See *supra*, Chapter VI. p. 55.

<sup>6</sup> See especially De Wette, i. 261, ii. 288.

only awards to theft a twofold or a larger *compensation*, and prescribes no punishment for infanticide; perjury and lying are not even mentioned, but the animals which may be eaten and the clothes which must be worn are points of extraordinary importance. He who dares to harbour but a doubt of the rights and privileges of the priests may expect the fate of Korah and his companions, and the punishment of *death* is the penalty annexed to the violation of the sabbath<sup>1</sup> or the eating of leavened bread<sup>2</sup>.

If however it were possible to prove that the priesthood existed, even in its rudimentary state, as early as the time of Moses, the Levitical institutions of the Pentateuch are still of such a nature that they could not possibly have been enacted by any single individual; no one man could have founded so complete a hierarchy, and least of all could the leader of a wandering tribe have done so, who in truth was little likely, on an expedition in itself so adventurous, to have ever thought of encumbering himself with "all the heavy baggage," as Goethe terms it, "of petty religious observances,"—a leader too who was unacquainted with the future home of his countrymen, and who possessed no knowledge of the religious systems which then prevailed in Canaan, or of their various special relations to that country. The book of Leviticus, which was said to have been given altogether on Mount Sinai, contains a set of

<sup>1</sup> "They found a man that gathered sticks upon the sabbath-day..... The man shall be surely put to death."—*Numb.* xv. 32, 35.

<sup>2</sup> "Seven days shall ye eat unleavened bread; even the first day ye shall put away leaven out of your houses: for whosoever eateth leavened bread from the first day until the seventh day, that soul shall be cut off from Israel.....Seven days shall there be no leaven found in your houses: for whosoever eateth that which is leavened, even that soul shall be cut off from the congregation of Israel, whether he be a stranger, or born in the land."—*Exod.* xii. 15, 19.

laws so refined and so difficult to be observed, extending to the minutest circumstances of a religious life, that it hardly finds a parallel even in the code of the Brahmins ; and in many instances it too clearly manifests the influence of that gnat-straining and pedantic spirit which was carried to such an extreme by the later Rabbins in the Talmud. To this class belong the laws regarding meats, the injunctions respecting the breeding of animals with those of a "diverse kind," the mixture of different seeds, and even the use of different threads in the same texture<sup>1</sup>. Similar refinements on legislation may be seen in the laws respecting the fringes on garments<sup>2</sup>, the leprosy of houses, and many other enactments of a like character.

Many of the Levitical regulations imply a state of the deepest moral degradation among the people, which is never to be found in tribes of wandering shepherds, but which might easily have arisen among a people who derived their civilization from foreign influence<sup>3</sup>. Ezekiel laments the existence of the most degrading vices<sup>4</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Levit. xix.—"Thou shalt not wear a garment of divers sorts, as of woollen and linen together."—*Deut.* xxii. 11.

<sup>2</sup> "Speak unto the children of Israel, and bid them that they make them fringes in the borders of their garments throughout their generations, and that they put upon the fringe of the borders a ribband of blue."—*Numb.* xv. 38.

<sup>3</sup> This is shown in the laws of purification for the "issues of men," (whether syphilis or gonorrhœa be the disease which is referred to, —*Levit.* xv.), in the laws against adultery and fornication, which seem to belong to the period of the Proverbs (compare *Prov.* ii. 16, v. 3, vi. 26, vii. 10, xxiii. 27.), the laws against sodomy and bestiality, (*Levit.* xviii. 22, 23, xx. 13, 16.), and above all in the laws against incest, which must have been a crime of frequent occurrence, as we find special terms for its various species, namely, *zammah*, with the mother or daughter of a wife (*Levit.* xviii. 17.); *tebel*, with the daughter-in-law (*Lev.* xx. 12.); *chas'ad*, between brother and sister (*Levit.* xx. 17.).

<sup>4</sup> "In thee have they discovered their father's nakedness, in thee

the origin of which, as of everything bad, the Pentateuch ascribes to the native Canaanites, in order not only to palliate as far as possible the extirpation of the inhabitants, but also to inspire a more lively abhorrence of the most prevalent vices, and, by the gradual insulation of the Israelites, to raise that nation eventually to the high standard of a pure morality. This latter object must never be lost sight of throughout the whole body of the Levitical law; and though it is our duty, in combating inveterate prejudice, to bring forward what appears to be contradictory or inconsistent, when a correct light can thereby be thrown upon the real period to which the laws belong, we would wish at the same time fully to acknowledge the moral character of the Levitical legislation. We discover in the Levitical code the same general features which are found in the laws of Menu, and both these codes have in their history and tendency a striking resemblance to each other. Both exhibit great severity where the rights of the hierarchy are infringed or neglected, but they breathe a spirit of gentleness and humanity in the duties towards our fellow-men, and even towards animals<sup>1</sup>; both aim at that moral dignity which might be reasonably expected in a sacerdotal legislation; both aim at forming a mixed poli-

have they humbled her that was set apart for pollution.....And one hath committed abomination with his neighbour's wife; and another hath lewdly defiled his daughter-in-law; and another in thee hath humbled his sister, his father's daughter."—*Ezek.* xxii. 10, 11.

<sup>1</sup> "Thou shalt not see thy brother's ox or his sheep go astray, and hide thyself from them: thou shalt in any case bring them again unto thy brother."—*Deut.* xxii. 1.

"If brethren dwell together, and one of them die, and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger: her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her."—*Deut.* xxv. 5.

tical and religious constitution, adapted to an agricultural people, leading a settled life, in a land which was regarded as holy and had descended to them from their ancestors. In the code of Menu the very boundaries of the country are said to have been drawn by Brahmavarta and Aryavarta<sup>1</sup>, and whatever lives within them is sacred to Brahma. Again, both codes of laws were intended to present the ideal of a sacerdotal state; the Brahmins, like the Levites, were the representatives of the Deity on earth, and the kings who executed their will were as far as possible limited in power and placed beneath their guidance; neither code was ever carried into practice in all its details, or at least not until the spirit of the people had been entirely benumbed. The Brahminical code had however one advantage over that of the Levites, that the nation existed longer, so that the later Puranas were filled with ceaseless recommendations of the law, whilst the Pentateuch, on the other hand, was compelled in great measure to assert its own authority itself. In both these codes it is impossible to distinguish the portions derived from tradition from those which had been preserved in writing; but they both prove, from the general state of culture they exhibit, that they were first collected into a whole during a period of considerable advancement both in civilization and literature. Again, both the Levitical and the Brahminical codes are ascribed to the Deity himself, just as Menes in Egypt derived his laws from Hermes, Minos in Crete from Zeus, Cadmus at Thebes from an oracle, Lycurgus from Apollo, Numa from the nymph Egeria, Zoroaster from Ormuzd, and Mahommed from the angel Gabriel. In all these cases the object of the legislator

<sup>1</sup> See Von Bohlen's *Ancient India*, i. 17, 22.

was the same, to invest the laws with a higher authority and influence by means of a solemn fiction; but in the Pentateuch of the Hebrews, the gratitude of the people is also expressed towards the founder of their nation, and a lasting monument is raised to that powerful influence which tradition had ascribed to Moses.

It is evident from these general points of agreement, which Michaelis expressly mentions as the distinguishing marks of a *theocracy*, that the constitution of ancient India is equally entitled to be termed theocratic<sup>1</sup>; and it may be remarked, that the name of theocracy was first employed by Josephus, though not, as may be easily believed, with all the precision of modern criticism.

Every hierarchy is in fact at the same time a theocracy, or rather, it is the superstructure raised on a theocratical basis, and Leo has been unjustly censured for using these two terms as synonymous.

Divine judgements and sacred decisions by lot are events of constant recurrence in theocratic constitutions; Ormuzd promises abundance and prosperity to his faithful followers; and the prophecies of good or ill fortune are allowed by the Brahminical gods, as well as by Jehovah. The Hebrew prophets laboured to change the form of the hierarchy, but they left its essence the same. Michaelis himself admits, that all those features of the Hebrew theocracy may be recognized in most cases in the religion of other nations, but that in the case of other nations it was *imposture*, and in that of the Israelites it was *truth*. How such an argument should be characterized we shall not presume to decide; but we have already said enough, and perhaps more than enough, for unprejudiced readers.

<sup>1</sup> Mos. Recht, i. 217.

The Pentateuch makes its first appearance about the period of the Babylonish Exile, as is proved both by history and by the whole of its contents; and those who are not convinced of this by the proofs which have now been brought forward, would resist the evidence of any proofs.

It will be desirable, before we conclude, to make some special observations on the first portion of the Pentateuch (Genesis), as that which is especially devoted to the history of primæval times; but before we do so, we think it advisable to lay before the reader a short summary of the whole of the five books composing that work.



## CHAPTER XXIII.

GENERAL REVIEW OF THE FIVE BOOKS OF THE  
PENTATEUCH.

THE Pentateuch forms a complete work in itself, and (leaving out of view the different degrees of antiquity possessed by particular parts, and the earlier appearance of Deuteronomy), the portions of which it is composed have been so arranged and adapted to each other as to form one continuous narrative down to the death of Moses. This narrative is continued in the book of Joshua, which fills up the interval that would otherwise occur, and forms a complete transition from the fragments of primæval history to the genuine records of the Israelitish nation.

The first book of the Pentateuch serves as an introduction to the others, and cannot be separated from them ; for without the book of Genesis, a commencement would be wanting to the narrative of Moses and the departure from Egypt, to which this book appears with prophetic spirit to look forward. Its Greek name, *Genesis*, has been adopted, *a potiori*, from the importance of the subject of the Creation [which forms the commencement of the book].

The book of Genesis may be divided into two principal sections,—the general mythology (chap. i.–xi. 9.),—and the particular history of the patriarchs, which last is formed

into a connected whole by the poetical blessing of the dying Jacob. These two sections are closely united; each supplies a motive for the other, and both are governed throughout by the same pervading objects. These objects were—to trace the descent of the Israelitish people in one unbroken line from the commencement of the world; to show how the Deity had made the Hebrew race his peculiar care, from the earliest period of their existence, and who this Deity was; to relate how he had chosen the founders of the Hebrew nation to be his favourites, how he had separated them as a family from the rest of mankind, vouchsafed to aid them with his power and counsel, given them the land of Canaan for an eternal inheritance, and shown his favour to their increasing numbers by removing every hinderance from their path; and, lastly, how the third of the patriarchs [Jacob] left the land which had been promised to him, and journeyed into the land of Goshen, at the request of one of his sons who had risen to high honours in Egypt. In this manner we are prepared for the subsequent parts of the work; so that, properly speaking, the book of Genesis serves only as an introduction to the more important or legislative portion of the Pentateuch, which commences with the Exodus or departure of the family of Jacob from Egypt, from which circumstance the second book derives its name.

The book of Exodus describes the state of the Israelites when they were grown into a powerful people, during their wanderings through the Arabian desert, and down to the erection of a national sanctuary, which was called the tabernacle<sup>1</sup>. It is evident, therefore, that an interval of more than four hundred years must have intervened between the

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, p. 174.

conclusion of the book of Genesis and the events recorded in Exodus: the tradition passes over these four centuries without notice, or rather, the author of the Pentateuch does not appear to find in them any opportunity for enlarging on the heroic deeds of his nation.

As in Genesis Abraham is the head and glory of his family,—the centre from whom everything proceeds,—so in Exodus, Moses occupies a like position as the founder of the Hebrew state. In the former case, however, the narrator was obliged to ascend beyond the lifetime of Abraham, in order to prove that the Hebrew nobility was in fact as ancient as the human race; but in the latter case no such introduction was required, for the Hebrew colony had been left in Goshen, which was emphatically called “the best of the land;” and since the horror which the patriarchs entertained of any intermarriage with strangers had been repeatedly mentioned, and the aversion of the Egyptians to shepherds had also been expressly recorded, the author could rest assured that no suspicion of degeneracy was likely to attach to his people. He lived moreover in a land whose inhabitants, although principally occupied in the breeding of cattle, had been compelled to devote some attention to tillage; it was a land of olive-trees and vines, where towns and villages had arisen, and many sources of profit had been opened by trade both at home and abroad; and thus it never occurred to him to make any further inquiries into the local peculiarities of eastern Egypt, or to fill up this long interval by describing the fixed settlement of the Israelites; but he introduces his nation at the end of this long period [of the 400 years in Egypt], under the same character of a wandering tribe in which they had appeared at its commencement. The Chronicles also adopt the same

supposition, for they speak of the Israelites as shepherds during their sojourn in Egypt<sup>1</sup>. We should consequently be doing violence to the meaning of the narrator were we to fill up the period spent in Egypt with conjectures of our own, or attempt to form a different conception of the degree of civilization of these Hebrew shepherds from that which *he* designed to convey. Nor should we be less in error if we were to suppose that the ancient valley of the Nile possessed all that the Pentateuch ascribed to it at the time when it was written; or if we were, on the one hand, to infer that the Hebrews could have preserved their nationality unimpaired, merely because they were excluded as strangers from all direct intercourse with the Egyptians; or, on the other hand, to assume that they found in Egypt an admirable school which trained them by degrees to submit to a regular government, to a fixed abode in cities, and to the constant practice of agriculture, and that the character and customs of that remarkable land must have exercised a great and lasting influence on their own; or if we were lastly to imagine, with Ben David, that the religion of the Israelites was earlier than the time of Moses. All this is opposed to the narrative of the author; for, according to him, the Hebrew family is merely represented as increasing to a powerful nation, and receiving its constitution and religion, together with its priesthood and tabernacle, for the first time from Moses. On subjects which he does not mention we have no occasion to inquire, but need only direct our attention to the details with which he supplies us; and from these we learn, that the Egyptians

<sup>1</sup> "And Zabad his son, and Shuthelah his son, and Ezer, and Elead, whom the men of Gath that were born in that land slew, because they came down to take away their cattle."—1 *Chron.* vii. 21.

became jealous of this foreign band of strangers, and threatened their destruction, when an able and resolute man conceived the idea of freeing his people from oppression, and succeeded in carrying it into execution<sup>1</sup>. This forms the completion of the mighty drama, and all the critical objections or inferences in any way connected with it have been already fully examined<sup>2</sup>.

The remaining portion of Exodus, to which the author is evidently in haste to proceed, contains laws for the most part of a sacerdotal character, which are promulgated in a continuous series; and the scene of legislation remains on Mount Sinai (on which Moses had been originally consecrated to his office at the burning bush<sup>3</sup>), until the holy tent or tabernacle was prepared for the abode of Jehovah. The act of promulgation itself was concealed by a brilliant manifestation of the Deity.

The sacerdotal legislation is continued in the third book (called Leviticus) which is occupied with various laws regarding the feasts and sacrifices and the ritual; it contains fuller details, or repetitions, of many points which had been previously noticed; but the whole is more loosely connected, and the general formula, that "Jehovah spake unto Moses," supplies an easy means of prolonging the narrative at pleasure.

The fourth book (Numbers) commences with a census of the people, whence it derives its name; and it proceeds not merely to detail the wanderings of the Hebrews in the

<sup>1</sup> Exod. i.—xviii. 26.

<sup>2</sup> See *supra*, Chapter VI., &c.

<sup>3</sup> Called *sēneh*, which has an etymological similarity with Sinai. "And the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush: and he looked, and, behold, the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed."—*Exod.* iii. 2.

Arabian desert<sup>1</sup>, but to supply several additions to the laws; and it would appear, from its want of plan (which has often been a matter of surprize), that it was merely intended to form a supplement to the two books which precede it. Many of its laws are however new, especially those of a statistical nature; such for instance as relate to the census, the encampment, the boundaries of Canaan, &c.; and in this point of view the book of Numbers might be termed the code of state laws of the Israelites. The concluding verse<sup>2</sup> would seem to imply that the compiler considered the code as complete; for the people had reached the plains of Moab on the Jordan, opposite to Jericho, and were ready to advance into Palestine; the conquest of that country had already commenced<sup>3</sup>, dispositions had been even made for dividing it into the districts which were subsequently assigned to the tribes, and the necessary instructions had been given to Joshua; so that we might have proceeded at once, without any break in the narrative, to the book of Joshua; yet notwithstanding this, the fifth book begins afresh with the earlier laws, and recounts them all over again, but with so many modifications and contradictions, not necessarily implying the existence of the preceding books, as would seem to countenance the opinion that this compendium of the laws, which makes most decided claim to the name and authority of Moses, and is the first which is cited in history, was also the first which existed in a written form<sup>4</sup>. This book, named from its

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, Chapter VIII. p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> "These are the commandments and the judgements, which the Lord commanded by the hand of Moses unto the children of Israel in the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho."—*Numb.* xxxvi. 13.

<sup>3</sup> See chapter xxxii.

<sup>4</sup> See *supra*, Chapter XXI., and De Wette, *Einleitung* (Introd.) § 156.

repetition of the law, Deuteronomy [or second law], shows more internal connection than those which precede it, and presents a very different and almost entirely apologetic character. It is written in an independent but somewhat diffuse and rhetorical style, and not unfrequently adopts a moralizing tone, or that style of paternal admonition which characterizes the later prophets<sup>1</sup>. The language is clearly that of the later literary period, as De Wette and Gesenius have completely succeeded in showing<sup>2</sup>. In short, both the style of expression and the mode of conception belong completely to the period of the Babylonish exile; the blessing and the prayer of Moses more especially are written precisely in the poetical style of Jeremiah, though the blessing [of the twelve tribes] is a manifest imitation of the 49th chapter of Genesis. And yet, strange as it may seem, these very indications of a later age have been actually used to prove that the book of Deuteronomy was written by Moses himself. Jahn very characteristically commences his defence of the Pentateuch with this book<sup>3</sup>, in which, as he tells us, "Moses has fallen into that diffuse and garrulous style common to old age;" and he then proceeds to infer an earlier date for the preceding books, by showing their connection with it. Eichhorn supposes that "we hear the voice of the aged father on the very brink of the grave." Rosenmüller also has recourse to this proof of the declining powers of Moses<sup>4</sup>, to say nothing of the insignificant apology of Werner<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Vater, Comm. iii. 693.

<sup>2</sup> De Wette, *Dissertatio*, &c., Jenæ, 1805. Gesenius, *Gesch. der hebr. Spr.* (Hist. of Heb. Lang.) p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> *Einleitung* (Intro.) ii. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Prol.* p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Geschichtliche Auffassung der drey ersten Kapit. der Genesis.* [Historical Conception of the three first chapters of Genesis, p. 67, &c.]

De Wette, on the other hand, commences his critical remarks on Deuteronomy with the assertion, that if in the preceding books of the Pentateuch the reader may have held firm his belief in a prevailing tradition, or in a partial historical foundation, this book (of Deuteronomy) seems as if written purposely to refute such a belief, inasmuch as the traces of fiction in it are manifest enough to convince the most careless observer<sup>1</sup>. Some of the preceding chapters of this work<sup>2</sup> have already sufficiently decided on which side the balance of evidence preponderates [*i. e.* in favour of the origin of the Pentateuch at a much later date than that of Moses].

<sup>1</sup> Beiträge (Contrib.) ii. 385.

<sup>2</sup> [See *supra*, Chapter VII., pp. 71, 75, 78; IX., pp. 93, 97, 98; XI., p. 123; XIV., pp. 167, 171; XVI., p. 197, &c.]



## CHAPTER XXIV.

THEORY RESPECTING THE PORTIONS OF THE PENTATEUCH WHICH ARE SEVERALLY CHARACTERIZED BY THE ADOPTION OF THE NAMES OF ELOHIM OR JEHOVAH FOR THE DEITY.—UNITY OF GENESIS.

THE fragmentary structure of Genesis was long since noticed by Vitringa, Rich. Simon, Le Clerc, and other writers; but it was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that a physician, named Astruc, suggested a critical theory, which appeared to throw a new light on the manner in which Genesis (and more or less the whole Pentateuch) had been originally composed<sup>1</sup>.

It is known to be the practice of eastern historians to borrow whole passages, word for word, from other writers, without stating their authority, and to work up their own materials with the expressions and phrases of their predecessors<sup>2</sup>. Now the clearest proofs exist of the adoption of this practice by the Hebrews, particularly in the books of the Kings and Chronicles, which contain extracts from more ancient annals; and Astruc distinguished two principal narratives in Genesis, which the composer appeared to have adopted with all their peculiarities of style and conception, scarcely making an attempt to incorporate them

<sup>1</sup> Conjectures sur les Mémoires Originaux dont il paroît que Moïse se servit pour composer le livre de la Génèse. Bruxelles, 1753.

<sup>2</sup> For examples see Stähelin, Krit. Untersuchungen über die Genesis (Critical Researches on Genesis), p. 114. Basle, 1830.

with each other; so that the chronological order alone formed the slender thread by which the separate events were strung together. These two portions were remarkably distinguished by the names (Jehovah and Elohim) which they respectively ascribed to the Deity; and thus it was said that the titles of particular sections, the frequent contradictions, and the differences in style, might be explained by the hypothesis of these two records, which were subsequently called by the distinctive names of Elohim and Jehovah.

Even Jahn<sup>1</sup> and Eichhorn<sup>2</sup> felt themselves obliged to yield their assent to this theory, though at the same time they were forced to assume that Moses must have had these ancient materials already in his possession. Eichhorn indeed carried the above-mentioned theory still further, and from him we may date that rage for subdividing Genesis into small portions, in which Ilgen and Gramberg have left all competitors behind them<sup>3</sup>.

The use of a particular name would in itself add little force to the argument, since it is generally found to prevail in the different sections of Genesis, and is subject besides to frequent change; occasionally also we find, that in one and the same portion (as for instance in the speech of Balaam) sometimes the name Elohim<sup>4</sup> and sometimes the name Jehovah<sup>5</sup> is employed; so that Vater and De Wette have

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung (Intro.) ii. 95.

<sup>2</sup> Intro. ii. § 416.

<sup>3</sup> Ilgen, *Urkunden des Jerusalemischen Tempelarchivs in ihrer Urgestalt* (Records of the Temple Archives at Jerusalem in their Primitive State), Halle, 1798. Gramberg, *Libri Geneseos secundum fontes rite dignoscendos, adumbratio nova*: Lips. 1828. Comparative tables may be seen in Vater, and in the Introduction of De Wette.

<sup>4</sup> Numb. xxii. 9, 10, 12, 35; xxiii. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Numb. xxii. 8, 18, 19, 31; xxiii. 5, 26.

thought it necessary to have recourse to other evidence to complete their proof of the fragmentary character of the Pentateuch. Still this variation in the name of the Deity is well deserving of attention, when other grounds of judgment are found to support it, and accordingly the following observations in reference to Genesis are worthy of notice.

The name Elohim appears to be used with remarkable consistency for that of God, in some particular portions of the first part of Genesis<sup>1</sup>, which are found when placed in succession to form a perfectly connected whole, and also in some of those insulated narratives, and<sup>2</sup> occasional digressions<sup>3</sup> which seem to interrupt the principal history. All these portions of Genesis show one original plan, are more ancient and simple in their character<sup>4</sup>, and betray stronger traces of polytheism<sup>5</sup>; they are partial to tautology, and they confine themselves to the use of favourite words and phrases, as *'el shaddai*, God Almighty<sup>6</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> Gen. i—ii. 3; v., vi. 9–22; vii. 11, to the end; viii. 1–19; ix. 1–17; xi. 10–32.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xvii.; xx–xxii.; xxxv.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxv. 7, 11. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Gen. i. with ii.; xvii. with xix. 29.

<sup>5</sup> “And God (*'Elohim*) said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.”—Gen. i. 26.

“The sons of God (*'Elohim*) saw the daughters of men that they were fair.”—Gen. vi. 2.

“When God caused me to wander from my father’s house.”—Gen. xx. 13.

<sup>6</sup> “Jehovah appeared unto Abram, and said unto him, I am the Almighty God.”—Gen. xvii. 1.

“God Almighty bless thee.”—Gen. xxvii. 3.

“God said unto him [Jacob], I am God Almighty.”—Gen. xxxv. 11.

“God Almighty give you mercy before the man.”—Gen. xliii. 14.

“God Almighty appeared unto me at Luz in the land of Canaan.”—Gen. xlviii. 3.

“The Almighty who shall bless thee.”—Gen. xlix. 25.

See Commentary on Genesis V. and XVII.

they refer religious usages to a very high antiquity, represent God as making a covenant with man, and attach great importance to dreams and to their interpretation<sup>1</sup>. Besides these general characteristics, we may add the separate titles prefixed to particular sections, which suggest in themselves the idea of separate narratives<sup>2</sup>; and in frequent combination with these and the distinctive name of the Deity, we are struck with peculiarities of phrase and diction and variations in the style or tone of composition which may be traced throughout the whole book of Genesis<sup>3</sup>.

Those portions, on the other hand, which employ the name *Jehovah* are distinguished by a greater predilection for the marvellous, by descriptions of the Deity under a

<sup>1</sup> See Stähelin, p. 87, &c.

<sup>2</sup> "These are the generations of the heavens and the earth, when they were created, in the day that the Lord God [Jehovah Elohim] made the earth and the heavens."—*Gen.* ii. 4.

"This is the book of the generations of Adam. In the day that God [Elohim] created man, in the likeness of God [Elohim] made he him."—*Gen.* v. 1.

"These are the generations of Noah: Noah was a just man, and perfect in his generations, and Noah walked with God [Elohim]."—*Gen.* vi. 9.

"Now these are the generations of the sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth."—*Gen.* x. 1.

"These are the generations of Shem.....Now these are the generations of Terah."—*Gen.* xi. 10, 27.

"Now these are the generations of Ishmael.....And these are the generations of Isaac."—*Gen.* xxv. 12, 19.

"Now these are the generations of Esau, who is Edom."—*Gen.* xxxvi. 1.

"These are the generations of Jacob."—*Gen.* xxxvii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See particularly Müller über die Verschiedenheit des Styls in den beiden Haupturkunden der Genesis (On the difference of Style in the two original documents in Genesis), Göttingen, 1792; and De Wette, Einleit. (Intro.) p. 192.

human form<sup>1</sup>, by the repeated promises of Jehovah to the Jewish people<sup>2</sup>, and by the mention of sacrifices and altars<sup>3</sup>. They trace the genealogy of the Hebrews no further back than Abraham, take every opportunity of exalting the patriarchs at the expense of kindred Semitic tribes, whom they represent as a very sinful race<sup>4</sup>, and more than once give vent to their hatred towards neighbouring nations in indecent fictions<sup>5</sup>. They are partial to forced etymologies of names, and connect them with subsidiary narratives<sup>6</sup>, are occasionally diffuse and oratori-

<sup>1</sup> "The Lord [Jehovah] shut him in, [or shut it (the ark) up after him]."—*Gen.* vii. 16.

"The plain of Jordan.....was well watered everywhere.....even as the garden of the Lord [Jehovah]."—*Gen.* xiii. 10.

"And the Lord [Jehovah] said, Shall I hide from Abraham that thing which I do."—*Gen.* xviii. 17.

<sup>2</sup> "Now the Lord had said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee."—*Gen.* xii. 1.

"And the Lord said unto Abram, after that Lot was separated from him, Lift up now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou art northward, and southward, and eastward, and westward."—*Gen.* xiii. 14.

"After these things the word of the Lord came unto Abram in a vision, saying, Fear not, Abram : I am thy shield, and thy exceeding great reward."—*Gen.* xv. 1.

<sup>3</sup> "And in process of time it came to pass, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the Lord."—*Gen.* iv. 3.

"And Abraham planted a grove in Beer-sheba, and called there on the name of the Lord, the everlasting God."—*Gen.* xxi. 33.

"And he builded an altar there, and called upon the name of the Lord, and pitched his tent there : and there Isaac's servants digged a well."—*Gen.* xxvi. 25.

"And he erected there an altar, and called it El-elohe-Israel."—*Gen.* xxxiii. 20.

<sup>4</sup> "And Ham is the father of Canaan."—*Gen.* ix. 18. Chapters xv. and xxv.

<sup>5</sup> Genesis ix. 18-27 ; chap. xxxviii.

<sup>6</sup> "And Adam knew Eve his wife ; and she conceived, and bare Cain,

cal<sup>1</sup>; they employ the expression '*athak*', 'to remove their tents,' instead of 'to wander'<sup>2</sup>: they also allude to customs of a later period, and suppose a familiar acquaintance with them, even for example with the payment of tithes, as it was subsequently introduced by the Levitical system. They betray, moreover, a knowledge of many articles of luxury, and of many of the conveniences of life; such as gold and precious stones<sup>3</sup>, and they are acquainted with the use of iron and with several of the arts<sup>4</sup>, with bracelets and rings<sup>5</sup>, and with signet-rings and walking-sticks<sup>6</sup>. In all cases however where similar circumstances are detailed,

and said, I have gotten a man from the Lord.....And to Seth, to him also there was born a son; and he called his name Enos: then began men to call upon the name of the Lord."—*Gen.* iv. 1, 26.

"And he called his name Noah, saying, This same shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed."—*Gen.* v. 29.

"And the angel of the Lord said unto her, Behold, thou art with child, and shalt bear a son, and shalt call his name Ishmael; because the Lord hath heard thy affliction."—*Gen.* xvi. 11.

"And after that came his brother out, and his hand took hold on Esau's heel; and his name was called Jacob: and Isaac was three-score years old when she bare them."—*Gen.* xxv. 26.

"And it came to pass, as he drew back his hand, that, behold, his brother came out: and she said, How hast thou broken forth? this breach be upon thee: therefore his name was called Pharez."—*Gen.* xxxviii. 29.

<sup>1</sup> Compare chapter xix. with chapter xviii. verses 29 and 24.

<sup>2</sup> "And he removed from thence unto a mountain on the east of Beth-el, and pitched his tent, having Beth-el on the west, and Hai on the east: and there he builded an altar unto the Lord, and called upon the name of the Lord."—*Gen.* xii. 8.

"And the Lord appeared unto him, and said, Go not down into Egypt; dwell in the land which I shall tell thee of."—*Gen.* xxvi. 2.

<sup>3</sup> "The name of the first is Pison: that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold; And the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium and the onyx-stone."—*Gen.* ii. 11, 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Gen.* iv.

<sup>5</sup> *Gen.* xxiv.

<sup>6</sup> *Gen.* xxxviii.

each document adheres to a characteristic set of expressions, in conformity with the particular name which it employs for the Deity<sup>1</sup>; and it would manifestly be absurd to suppose that the author should have affected unusual forms of expression only in these particular sections, or should have suddenly varied the whole character of his style according to the one or other of these two names which he happened to adopt.

The circumstances here stated lead to the conclusion, that only *two* styles are found to prevail through the book of Genesis, and that we need not assume more than two sources for that work; and it is most probable that the whole of this question would long since have received a most complete solution, if critics had not been led by the names they themselves had given to regard the two separate sources as a settled matter of fact, and proceeded as a natural consequence to divide the whole of the text into the smallest possible fragments.

It was against this absurd practice that Ewald's Essay on the Composition of Genesis<sup>2</sup> was directed; and although the opinions which he advanced therein, on the *original* unity of Genesis, were subsequently withdrawn by the author himself, and the essay was declared to be the work of a youth of nineteen, merely possessing value as a matter of history, yet this treatise had been written with so much learning and acuteness, it had proved the existence of so many points of connection between parts of Genesis which had previously appeared to be the most fragmentary and abrupt, and the success with which it met the boldest

<sup>1</sup> In the eleven first chapters of Genesis this is particularly observable; compare also chapters xxiv. (xx ?), xxvi., xli., xlii.

<sup>2</sup> Die Composition der Genesis. Braunsch. 1823.

assertions of the hypothesis of separation, was so triumphant, that it may be justly said to have formed an æra in the criticism of the composition of Genesis. Schumann, in his admirable edition of Genesis<sup>1</sup>, has been uniformly guided by the principles laid down in this essay, and with singular judgement has chosen the happy medium between the opposite extremes.

Ewald starts from the fundamental principle, that the use of these names for the Deity may be reduced, in every case, to fixed rules, and that a marked distinction is uniformly observed between the two; that the name Jehovah is employed only for the national deity of the theocracy, as the king of the people and the source of legislative power, in opposition to the gods of other nations, while the name Elohim denoted the gods of the heathen and other supernatural beings, in short, the Divine power in general and its effects as it is exhibited to us in nature; but in attempting to apply this distinction, Ewald found, as he has since been obliged to admit, that he had undertaken a task which could not be accomplished. It is undoubtedly true that strict theocratists of the Old Testament seldom employ the name Elohim, and so confirm to the fullest extent the result of our previous inquiries<sup>2</sup>; while in the older writings this name is far more frequently used, and in many instances, as it would seem, with even a higher meaning than Jehovah. Thus Gideon invokes the aid, not of Jehovah as we should expect, but of Elohim against the national enemy<sup>3</sup>; David calls upon

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, hebraice et græce. Lips. 1829.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter XIII., pp. 148, 152.

<sup>3</sup> "And Gideon said unto God [Elohim], If thou wilt save Israel by mine hand, as thou hast said.....And Gideon said unto God [Elohim], Let not thine anger be hot against me, and I will speak but this once :



Elohim to save his child<sup>1</sup>; a prophet was still termed *'ish 'Elohim* "a man of Elohim," and at a later period the whole nation was described as *'ebed Jēhovah*, or a servant of Jehovah. Traces of the distinction we have mentioned become more apparent in the Prophets, but in the latest writings hardly any difference can be observed, since the name Elohim had been retained in the popular language, and its meaning had now become purely monotheistic and spiritual. In Genesis however this is very far from being the case, and the marked and uniform distinction proposed by Ewald is not by any means to be found. At the commencement of this book Elohim creates<sup>2</sup> the world, without reference to the most holy Jehovah, who was far more exalted in the belief of the Hebrews; Elohim founds the purely theocratic covenant of circumcision<sup>3</sup>; Elohim appears to Jacob and blesses him<sup>4</sup>. Abraham says that Elohim caused him to wander<sup>5</sup>; and although this was addressed to a heathen king, yet it appears that on other occasions Abraham did not scruple to use the name of Jehovah to strangers<sup>6</sup>, and many who were not

let me prove, I pray thee, but this once with the fleece; let it now be dry only upon the fleece, and upon all the ground let there be dew. And God [Elohim] did so that night: for it was dry upon the fleece only, and there was dew on all the ground."—*Judges* vi. 36, 39, 40.

<sup>1</sup> "David therefore besought God [Elohim] for the child."—2 *Sam.* xii. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Compare, on the other hand, Exodus xx. 11. "In six days the Lord [Jehovah] made heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is."

<sup>3</sup> Genesis xvii.

<sup>4</sup> "And God appeared unto Jacob again, when he came out of Padan-aram, and blessed him."—*Gen.* xxxv. 9.

<sup>5</sup> "And it came to pass, when God [Elohim] caused me to wander from my father's house."—*Gen.* xx. 13.

<sup>6</sup> "And Abram said to the king of Sodom, I have lift up mine hand unto the Lord [Jehovah], the most high God, the possessor of heaven and earth."—*Gen.* xiv. 22.

Israelites would seem to have been perfectly familiar with that name<sup>1</sup>.

But the ideas formed of Jehovah himself were also very limited, and purely human in their character; he is described as forming men from the dust of the ground, and as making clothes for them; he comes down to them as Elohim does; he takes a part in the confusion of tongues, and he exerts his power with reference to the pregnancy of women<sup>2</sup>. Elohim and Jehovah have each their angels; dreams proceed from both, the asking counsel of God is used with both titles, and in short a remarkable alternation of these two names seems connected with certain sections of Genesis.

Other arguments might be added for this subdivision of Genesis, but they are of little importance. The repetitions and contradictions which are so frequently found in that book, and which clearly prove the working up of existing materials, cannot possibly be ascribed to the lively style of narration in which an author, from youthful precipitation, may repeat the account of various circumstances, and give a different colouring to events under the momentary impulse of his feelings, and then, on the sudden recollection of what had preceded, may become embarrassed and perplexed by the rapidity of his own transitions. In Genesis, on the contrary, the narrator appears to have deliberately adopted a settled plan, and to be by no means so forgetful as on

<sup>1</sup> "And they [Abimelech king of the Philistines and his friends] said, We saw certainly that the Lord [Jehovah] was with thee,"—*Gen.* xxvi. 28.

<sup>2</sup> "And Sarai said unto Abram, Behold now the Lord [Jehovah] hath restrained me from bearing."—*Gen.* xvi. 2.

"For the Lord [Jehovah] had fast closed up all the wombs of the house of Abimelech, because of Sarah Abraham's wife."—*Gen.* xx. 18.

three different occasions to represent the wife as the sister of a patriarch<sup>1</sup>, or repeatedly to give different explanations of the same proper name, so as thereby to weaken the faith in his own derivations. Indeed the original compiler took no notice of any repetitions, but conceived that each narrative was sufficiently supported by the separate documents before him<sup>2</sup>.

Ewald, with his usual candour, has openly admitted all these circumstances, and his great merit consists in having proved beyond a doubt a *nearer* approach to unity in the Pentateuch, and especially in Genesis, than was previously supposed; but then it is a unity which is perfectly compatible with the existence of a large number of original materials. The final result of his critical inquiries is summed up by Ewald in the following terms. "The Pentateuch," he says, "in its present state is founded on an ancient record, which brought down the history from the commencement of the world to the death of Moses and the conquest of Canaan, which was distinguished for its adherence to a determinate plan, and for characteristic peculiarities of language, and of which ancient document all the five books contain considerable fragments. The compiler of the Pentateuch also adopted other fragments of still more ancient date; and it is one of these which constantly employs the name Elohim for the Deity, as far as Exodus v. 2, in conformity with the belief or historical tradition, that the name of Jehovah first became known by Moses, and that that name was intimately connected with the

<sup>1</sup> Genesis xii., xx., xxvi.

<sup>2</sup> See De Wette, *Einleitung* (Introduction) p. 189. not. d. Fäsi in *Schulthess' Annalen*, 1829, p. 111, &c. Schumann, *Prolegg.* p. lxvi., and Hartmann, p. 159, &c.

formation of the early Mosaic system of worship. In the progress of time this ancient record was worked up again and augmented; and some still later Hebrew would appear to have combined the two, the older and the more recent narrative, into one connected whole. Thus a certain degree of unity is found to prevail through the Pentateuch, or, in other words, we can trace the plan of an original work, which however was afterwards subjected to being twice augmented and worked up<sup>1</sup>."

We cannot but acknowledge the correctness of these views of Ewald, with the single exception of that in which he has assumed that the original record with Elohim was subjected to be a *second* time worked up, and that consequently more than one series of additions are to be distinguished. Now there are good grounds for believing that these ancient fragments were adopted by some *one* Israelitish compiler<sup>2</sup>, and were interwoven by him into his own narration. It is indeed a matter of surprise, that no previous inquiry should have led even to a conjecture of so simple a result; for it may be easily seen, that the portions of the narrative which employ the name of Jehovah cannot be so united together as to form a connected whole, that they are far more finished, that they discover in every instance a more recent date, and are clearly marked by the more exclusive spirit of the later Hebrews; whilst those

<sup>1</sup> See Studien und Krit., 1831, iii. 602, and Berliner Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik (Berlin Annals of Scientific Criticism), 1831, p. 365.

<sup>2</sup> "Diaskeuasten," Germ. ["The ancient Diaskeuastæ, or compilers of the time of Pisistratus, were employed to collect, revise, and compile the scattered poems of Homer, which had previously been handed down by oral tradition, and had been sung in detached portions among the Greeks." See Wolf's Prolegomena ad Homerum, §§ 33, 34, 35.]

portions, on the other hand, which adopt the name Elohim everywhere manifest the existence of foreign and more especially of polytheistic ideas, and would be to a great extent obscure without some knowledge of the other portions of Oriental mythology. They were founded beyond a doubt on foreign and possibly on Mesopotamian traditions, they adopted the conceptions which prevailed in that part of Asia, they evidently rest until the time of Abraham on Chaldæan ground, and they bear a Chaldæan date of the eighth century before Christ, in the use of the true solar year in their account of the deluge<sup>1</sup>. Beyond this date the antiquity of these records does not consequently ascend; and though they also include the primæval and national history of the Hebrews, it must still be borne in mind (and a mere denial cannot disprove the fact) that the Chaldæans, as well as the Phœnicians and other kindred tribes of Palestine, might all lay claim to a common ancestry and a common store of traditions, as the brethren of one and the same race.

At the commencement of Genesis the different narrations stand in perfect connection, and it is only at intervals, as we shall show in the commentary, that the Hebrew

<sup>1</sup> [See Gen. vii. 11, and viii. 14. The Noachian deluge is described as commencing on the seventeenth day of the second month of Noah's 600th year, and as terminating on the twenty-seventh day of the second month of his 601st year; and as lunar years were usually adopted in very ancient chronology, the duration assigned to the deluge may be calculated as one lunar year and ten days, or 365 days, or one solar year. A lunar year consists of 354 days 8 hours, and therefore 10½ days would be required to make up the solar year of 365 days. It is also remarkable that the solar year was first known among the Chaldæans, B.C. 747, at the æra of Nabonassar, king of Babylon, so that the adoption of the period of a solar year, for the duration of the deluge in Genesis, would appear to be characteristic of the eighth century before Christ.]

compiler ventures to introduce a favourite theory or to promote some patriotic purpose of his own; but we find, as he proceeds, that he infuses into the work a larger portion of purely Jewish elements, until at length the primæval history of his people enables him to assume a bolder and more independent position. He may indeed have had other materials before him, or may have occasionally borrowed from ancient epic lays, as for instance the whole poem [on the twelve tribes] in chapter xlix, from the time of Solomon; but nevertheless it is only in what are called the Elohim records that we can discover the existence of any earlier written origin, and all critical arguments unite to assure us, that the whole compilation could not have been reduced to its present form until nearly the time of the Exile [B.C. 722.].

We have thus refuted the hypothesis which assumes the existence of more than one series of ancient and original records; and while we recognize with Ewald the unity of Genesis, we allow the full force of the proofs of the two distinct elements which have been discovered by others; but it is clear, from the remarks which have been made, that, with merely the names of Elohim and Jehovah as guides, we cannot presume to divide the whole text into separate portions, and to select the original record out of these fragments; for we cannot prove, how often the compiler may have derived merely the connecting passages from the original source of his work, with how liberal or how sparing a hand he may have subsequently interwoven them into his narrative, or even, in particular cases, what ideas may belong to him, and what may have been adopted from previous compilers.

## CHAPTER XXV.

## SPECIAL CONSIDERATION OF GENESIS.

IT has been already observed that those narratives which are distinguished by the use of Elohim for the name of God, are also remarkable for the characteristics of the Mesopotamian region of central Asia which they exhibit, and that without some knowledge of the other portions of Eastern mythology they would now be obscure. This is particularly the case with some of the narratives which occur in the earlier portions of Genesis, and which will therefore claim for a short time our further consideration. So close and striking is their connection with similar ideas prevalent among the Hindoos, Persians, Babylonians, Phœnicians, and Greeks, both in their general outline and in their particular features, that attempts have been often made to derive or explain what is called the heathen mythology from that which is found in the Bible,—a mode of explanation which might perhaps have been expected at the time of Bishop Huet, but which at the present day can only proceed from prejudice or want of critical inquiry. Kaiser has indeed endeavoured to tread in this old path, but it is now a century too late<sup>1</sup>: he would try to persuade us that the key to the *mythology of every ancient people* may be found in the earlier chapters of Genesis, and

<sup>1</sup> See his "Commentarius in priora Geneseos capita, quatenus universæ Populorum Mythologiæ claves exhibent." Nürnberg. 1829.

he actually brings himself to say, that without the Israelitish tribes we should have had no zodiac; that the Hindoos would have been ignorant of the flood, and that the Greeks would have been unacquainted with their gods and heroes if they had not been instructed by the Jews,—a supposition almost too absurd to deserve the serious examination which we have given it in another work<sup>1</sup>. But the author has wisely omitted to prove in the first instance the priority of the Hebrew mythology, or even to point out the manner in which it was diffused among all the other nations of the earth; and, in answer to these vague assertions, we will here present to the attention of the reader the following passage from Dohm:—

“It is strange,” he observes, “that such pains should have been taken to trace to the Jews not only the origin of all the ideas of science and religion which are found among eastern nations, but even the commencement of every possible variety of usage, custom and ceremony. The small and circumscribed people of the Hebrews, who were generally despised, and who never maintained an intercourse with other nations either by trade or by conquest, by religious missionaries or by philosophical travellers, are supposed, according to the dreams of certain learned men, to have supplied all Asia, and from thence the whole world, with religion, philosophy and laws, and even with manners and morals<sup>2</sup>.”

Very similar are the opinions of Corrodi on this subject<sup>3</sup>: “It appears to me,” he says, “that the Jews were not

<sup>1</sup> *Altes Indien* (Ancient India), i. 215.

<sup>2</sup> Dohm, *Anmerkungen zu Ives Reise nach Indien* (Observations on Ives's Journey to India), i. 134.

<sup>3</sup> *Geschichte des Chiliasmus* (History of the belief in the Millenium), i. 26.



the people best fitted in ancient times to illuminate their neighbours, and that the inhabitants of the East were least of all indebted for the light which they enjoyed to any exertions of that people." The Hebrews themselves have never ventured to put forward such pretensions, and they have in fact admitted that the Chaldæans and Phœnicians, as well as the Egyptians, were permanently settled and in a civilized state, at the time when the patriarchs were still wandering with their herds. Even Josephus has not ventured on so manifest a perversion of antiquity (which in his time he could hardly have attempted), but has rather endeavoured to prove the truth of the Bible narratives from their conformity with Babylonish myths.

The Rabbins and the Fathers of the Church were the first to advance the proposition, that the ancients, and particularly the Greeks, had borrowed their wisdom from Moses and the Prophets; while the Jewish scribes, in the opinion of one who was very well qualified to judge, have "shown a wonderful dexterity in extracting only what was bad from Aristotle and from the system of the Greek philosophers."

It may certainly happen that the victors themselves may in some cases become the pupils of the conquered, when the latter have reached a much higher grade of civilization; but Isaiah describes the Babylonians, even in his own day, as a wise and proud nation; and at a later period, Ezekiel bitterly reproaches his countrymen for their eagerness to adopt the views and opinions of their recent place of residence<sup>1</sup>. Very few remains have been preserved to our day of the mythological systems and ideas of the Chaldæans; those that we possess are contained, first, in the well-known fragments of Berosus, a priest at

<sup>1</sup> Ezekiel xvi.

Babylon, who, according to his own statement, made this collection from the ancient annals which he found in that city (about B.C. 300)<sup>1</sup>; and next, in the more mutilated fragments of his scholar Abydenus. At the present time, however, when, from our increasing knowledge of eastern Asia, the same philosophical systems are constantly brought before us in more distinct and purer forms, these scanty records claim our attention, as well as the literature of the Hebrews; for the philosophical systems included in them may be traced back to a more original source in the physical astrology on which they are based, the high antiquity of which is demonstrated by the frequent denunciations of the prophets themselves against the astrology of Babylon. A similar degree of antiquity and originality may be traced in the Phœnician cosmogony of the writer called Sanchoniathon, a compilation of later times, which was translated by Philo of Byblus<sup>2</sup>, who has deeply impressed a Grecian spirit upon it<sup>3</sup>; and in this case also, there are equally good reasons for believing that the foundation of the work was original, as that it was independent of Genesis. The same originality may be observed in the Egyptian myths, and in the statements of the Zendavesta, whose claims to a high antiquity a stricter criticism will rather tend to ratify than to weaken; and a similar independent character belongs in a very high degree to the ancient philosophical systems of India, whose weight of evidence is greater in proportion to

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, *Contr. Ap.* i. 19; Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* ix. 11, collected and edited by Richter. Leipzig, 1825.

<sup>2</sup> Eusebius i. 9, &c., edited by Orelli. Leipzig, 1826. Compare Mûnter's *Religion der Karthager* (Religion of the Carthaginians). Copenh. 1816.

<sup>3</sup> It is first mentioned by Athenæus, *Deipnos.* iii. 126. See Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* p. 1275.

their greater distance from the legendary history of the Hebrews. All the mythical narratives of a like kind, which prevailed among these nations, were founded on the worship of the stars, and may therefore be considered as older than the mythical portions of Genesis, or at all events as independent of them in the source from whence they were derived; all these myths also bear some affinity to their parent soil, and are on that account more intelligible, whilst the ancient myths of the Hebrews frequently point to a Mesopotamian origin, and, when separated from their mythological connection, are comparatively insulated and obscure.

That ideas similar to those of Asia have been found among the native tribes of America, has been already observed<sup>1</sup>; the rude Iroquois, for example, were familiar with the myth which was common to the Hindoos and Greeks respecting the river of hell, the Lenni Lenape had the Hindoo myth of the earth being supported on the back of a tortoise<sup>2</sup>; while, on the other hand, they had no tradition of the building of a particular tower, and still less of the national legends peculiar to the Hebrews.

The conquests of Alexander opened to the Greeks their first imperfect knowledge of the Israelites; for the traces which Köster<sup>3</sup> is disposed to discover in the Erempi mentioned by Homer<sup>4</sup>, though their possibility cannot be dis-

<sup>1</sup> See *supra* p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Heckewelder, *Nachricht von der Geschichte der Indian. Völkersch.* (on Indian Tribes), pp. 434, 527.

<sup>3</sup> *Erläuterungen* (Illustrations), p. 142.

<sup>4</sup> *Odyssey*, iv. 83:—

Αἰθίοπας δ' ἐκόμεν καὶ Σιδονίους, καὶ Ἑρεμβούς,  
καὶ Διβύην ἵνα τ' ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραιοὶ τελέθουσι.

[The Scholiast seems to think that the Erempi may have been the Arabs.]

proved, are still far too uncertain to afford any solid foundation. The earliest testimony we possess is that of Hecataeus of Miletus, who lived in the time of Nehemiah, (and therefore after the Babylonish exile) and who was acquainted with the division into tribes and many other particulars<sup>1</sup>. Most of the subsequent authorities were either themselves Jews, as Numenius, Eupolemus, Aristeas, Demetrius and Artapan, or they derived their information from Jews, as Hecataeus of Abdera did under Ptolemy Soter through Hezekiah<sup>2</sup>. In addition to this, when we consider the late date of the whole of Genesis, and especially of the first ten chapters<sup>3</sup>, the supposed reference of Homer to the Israelites must be regarded as a mere creation of the fancy.

Nothing can be more certain than that the Hebrew author borrowed from some foreign source the introductory myths of a physical or philosophical character, (which form, as we have already shown, the true mythology of every primæval history<sup>4</sup>), in order, as it would seem, to supply a solid foundation for the commencement of his national epic. He adopts these myths with all their peculiarities of style and colouring, but introduces nevertheless his own peculiar views of the creation and origin of man<sup>5</sup>, and betrays from the first the patriotic object which directs him, by separating<sup>6</sup> two accursed tribes [descendants of Cain and Canaan] from the mass of the surrounding people and placing them on the east and west, that they may not further interfere with the growing influence of

<sup>1</sup> See Photius Cod. 154.

<sup>2</sup> See Jost ii. 300.

<sup>3</sup> See Schumann Proleg. p. lxi., in addition to Hartmann and Pustkuchen, and the Introduction to Chap. X. in the Comment. on Genesis.

<sup>4</sup> See *supra*, Chapter I., pp. 5 and 6.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. ii. and iii.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. iv. and ix.

the Hebrew family. After widening the range of his narrative, and passing in review before the reader all the nations of the earth with whom he was acquainted, according to their language and position, he again reduces the narration (by the selection of the Semitic race) within the narrowest limits, and hence is enabled from this central point to follow with a steady hand the early fortunes of his people. The calling of Abraham is related, the land of Canaan is promised as an eternal inheritance, and the blessings of Jehovah are made to descend on all the succeeding patriarchs; the kindred tribes show themselves unworthy of their possessions, and receive a recompense elsewhere, or they voluntarily resign their claims and consent to leave the country; everything is here foretold by prophecy, in order to confirm the result; and the narrator can safely represent his ancestors as removing for a season to Egypt, can dwell with pleasure on the services which were rendered by Joseph to the Egyptian state, without a fear lest this desertion of Palestine should annul the promise of Jehovah; for the Deity himself "goes down" with his chosen people, and deigns to lead them back to their own paternal possessions. This leading idea, which pervades the whole of the plan, and which has been further developed by the master-hand of Ewald, had thus been correctly stated by Friedrich<sup>1</sup>. "From the history of Abraham downwards, the book of Genesis appears to present a kind of historical apology for the just rights of the Hebrews to assume the possession of Palestine. These claims were founded on the possessions which had belonged to the individuals called the three patriarchs in that country<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Segen Jacobs (Blessing of Jacob), p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the introduction to Genesis chap. xii. in the Commentary.

The Hebrews, very possibly, may have found it necessary on more than one occasion to defend their conquests by word and pen as well as by the sword." In the execution of this plan genealogy forms the epic thread on which events are strung together, and by which they are continued downwards. Poverty of invention is however strikingly visible in most cases, and especially where the hostile feeling of the writer towards national enemies or neighbouring tribes suggested to his fancy the adoption of the most invidious means of displaying his enmity. Cain must murder his brother, in order that he may draw down the curse of the Almighty; Canaan must uncover the nakedness of his drunken father, that he may become accursed; the Moabites and the Ammonites are represented as the offspring of incest, the Arabs are described as the bastard children of the patriarchs, and Esau is made the butt of unfeeling mockery,—inventions, all of which would do little honour to the character of their author, if they were not to be regarded from a national point of view, and were not to a great extent redeemed by higher and nobler features. The remainder of the narratives will be mostly found to turn on famines, on the barrenness of women, the blessings bestowed by blind fathers on their children, the substitution of wives for sisters, and similar expedients, which are repeatedly employed.

Legends, connected with wells and other places (*Sthalapuranas*), are of very frequent occurrence, and are constantly interwoven with the history of the patriarchs, in order, not only to give a sacred character to the spots themselves, but to authenticate the ancient records by an appeal to existing objects. In this too, as in every mythical history, etymology is liberally employed as an embellishment and in

many different ways. The Hebrew writers are singularly partial to interpretations of names and to etymological allusions, and the nature of their language affords a remarkable facility for indulging in them. Thus the Mount of Olives (*har hammish chah*) has been turned, by a slight variation, into the mount of corruption (*har hammish chith*<sup>1</sup>); and in more modern times the Christian cathedral or dome has been changed into *tēhom*, an abyss, and the liturgical service or mass into *matha'*, death. This tendency to explain existing names, or to adapt them to the current narrative, is remarkably developed in Genesis, which surpasses in this respect every other book of the Old Testament, and contains more than fifty such etymologies. In some cases foreign names were conformed to their own language, and the fiction adapted to suit them<sup>2</sup>, just as the Greek enriched his myths of Dionysos from the Indian Meru, formed an Erannoboas from the river Hiranyavaha, or an Astroarche from Astarte; believed that Pelusium was built by Peleus, and that Rhinokorura (the promontory of Koruna, in Arabic *'anf kurun*.) was founded by a colony with mutilated noses<sup>3</sup>. In some cases the names of nations were personified, and these imaginary heroes were in their turn made the source of other myths<sup>4</sup>; an easy expedient, which

<sup>1</sup> "And the high places that were before Jerusalem, which were on the right hand of the Mount of Corruption, which Solomon the king of Israel had builded for Ashtoreth the abomination of the Zidonians, and for Chemosh the abomination of the Moabites, and for Milcom the abomination of the children of Ammon, did the king defile."—2 *Kings* xxiii. 13.

<sup>2</sup> See Commentary on Genesis ii. 8; iv. 1, 12, 16, 25; v. 29; ix. 27; xvi. 1, 11; xvii. 8, 15, in Vol. II.

<sup>3</sup> Diodor. i. 60. Stephanus, *De Urbibus*, p. 654. Pott, *Etymol. Forschungen* (Researches), xxxiv. *Altes Indien* (Ancient India, by Von Bohlen) i. 142.

<sup>4</sup> See Commentary on Genesis, chapter x.

has supplied the fertile source of many a classic legend; thus the name of Armenius was derived from the Armenians, Medea from the Medes, and Perseus from the Persians. It is indeed generally found that the origin of names soon becomes obscure, and a different etymology is then not unfrequently adopted<sup>1</sup>; thus the Hindoo analyses *mānsa*, flesh (that which has life, *manas*) into *mā*, and *aç* "that which ought not to be eaten;" and the Greek derives the ancient name of [Ceres or] Demeter, *Δηώ* (*devā*, goddess) from *δηέω*, to find, as one who will discover [or the source of intelligence]; and even where an ancient legend is already connected with a name, later writers scruple not to add a new one, as may be seen in the double etymologies of Genesis<sup>2</sup>. Even Barhebræus, when discussing the well-known legend of the birth of Cæsar<sup>3</sup>, condescended to seek additional support in a far-fetched derivation from the Syriac<sup>4</sup>; and a fortunate hint was obtained for amplifying the mythical account of the deluge of Deucalion by observing

<sup>1</sup> Compare Commentary on Genesis xvi. 14 (Lachai-roi, "life of vision"), xxi. 31; (Beersheba, "well of the oath"), i. 11 (Abel-mizraim, "the mourning of the Egyptians").

<sup>2</sup> See the name of Isaac, in the Commentary, from Genesis xvii. 17, Abraham "laughed" (*yitsa'k*); Isaac (*yitsa'k*), Gen. xxi. 3. "All that hear will laugh (*yitsa'k*) with me," Gen. xxi. 6.

Observe also the well of Sheba, which may be derived either from *Shebu'ah*, an oath, or from *Shibe'ah*, "seven," in Gen. xxi. 29-31, and is derived from *Shebu'ah*, an oath, in Gen. xxvi. 33.

The name of Jacob is derived from *'ak'éb*, "the heel," in Gen. xxv. 26, and from *'ak'āb*, "one who lies in wait to deceive or supplant." Gen. xxvii. 36.

Beth-el (House of God), Gen. xxviii. 19; xxxv. 7 and 16.

Joseph may be derived from (*a'saph*) "taken away," or from (*yoseph*) "adding to," Gen. xxx. 23, 24.

<sup>3</sup> It is commonly supposed that Cæsar was brought into the world by the *Cæsarian operation*, and was so named "*a caso matris utero*."

<sup>4</sup> See Ewald, p. 178.



the similarity between *λâas*, a stone, and *λαὸς*, people, and deducing from thence a new mode of re peopling the world. Additional support was also given to the narrative by the invention of new names: thus Abel means what is perishable [alluding to his short life], and Esau is so named from his *hairiness*; but in many cases the author was compelled to have recourse to other dialects to explain the existing names<sup>1</sup>, and his etymologies are frequently forced<sup>2</sup>. On all these points however the requisite explanation will be given in the Commentary; and we now therefore proceed to consider the book of Genesis itself, in order to prove from that work the truth of the statements which have been here advanced.

<sup>1</sup> In the Commentary on Genesis, "Eve" (*chavah*, or living) is derived from the Arabic. Gen. iii. 20. See also the name of "Cain" (derived from the Arabic). Gen. iv. 1.—"Enoch," or "Chanock." Gen. iv. 17.—"Irâd," from the Persian. Gen. iv. 18.—"Zoar." Gen. xix. 20 and 22.—"Edom" (red). Gen. xxv. 30.—"Esek" (strife or contention). Gen. xxvi. 20.—"Gad" (good fortune). Gen. xxx. 11.—"Jegarsahadutha" (the Chaldee for a heap of witness), and "Galeed," the Hebrew word for a heap of witness. Gen. xxxi. 47.

<sup>2</sup> See the Commentary on "Lachai-ro'i," life of vision. Gen. xvi. 14.—"Moab" (for *mé'ab*, from the father). Gen. xix. 37.—"Ben-ammi." Gen. xix. 38.—"Levi," joined. Gen. xxix. 34.—"Naphtali," my wrestling. Gen. xxx. 8.—"Issachar" (it is hire). Gen. xxx. 16, 18.—"Zebulun," dwelling. Gen. xxx. 20.—"Mizpah," a beacon or watch-tower. Gen. xxxi. 49.—"Mahanaim," two hosts. Gen. xxxii. 3.—"Penu'el," from Peni'el, the face of God. Gen. xxxii. 23, 29, 31.—"Manasseh," who causes forgetfulness. Gen. xli. 51.—"Ephraim," fruitful. Gen. xli. 52.—"Abel-mizraim," the mourning of the Egyptians. Gen. l. 11.

Compare Vater, Comment. iii. p. 666. Ewald, Compos. pp. 10, 179. Hartmann, p. 269, etc.

## APPENDIX

TO VOLUME I.

1. *Remarks of Professor Von Bohlen on the Week, from his Ancient India* (vol. ii. p. 244).\*

THE short period of seven days may be traced back to the most remote antiquity, and belongs to the general institutes of the ancient East; we meet with it among the Hindoos, Chaldeans, Egyptians, Hebrews, and conjecturally also among the Persians†. There is no doubt that this division of time was originally connected with the moon's phases; but as far back as our knowledge extends, it is everywhere associated with the planets; from which heavenly bodies the days of the week received their names, or to which they were dedicated,—among other nations, by the ancient Arabians, who began the week with Sunday, and dedicated the Friday to Venus, named *Aruhah, the Beloved*‡. Even among the Greeks we may conjecture

\* See above in this Work, vol. i. p. 216.

† Compare Esther i. 10, 'On the Seventh Day,' 'The Seven Chamberlains,' and the numerous references to the sacred number Seven among this nation.

‡ See Ahmed ibn Jusuf in Pococke's *Specim. Hist. Arab.* p. 317. Selden, *de Diis Syris*, p. 285. It is also well known that human sacrifices were offered to the planets on the days dedicated to them. See Abutaleb in Norberg. *Onomast. to the Cod. Nasir.* pp. 4, 10, 30, 78, 97, 138.

a reference to the ancient sanctity of the planets and to the week, notwithstanding their Decades; for on the one hand we meet with a significance appertaining to the number Seven which is only explicable as referred to this source, while, on the other hand, certain religious festivals connected with prescribed days tend to confirm this view. It is unnecessary to enlarge here upon the sanctity attached to the number Seven in various ways by all those Oriental nations among whom we meet with the division of the Week, as these have often been collected and treated of\*; but we may notice, as apparently of equal significance with the twelve pigsties of Eumæos and his 360 boars†, the seven flocks and seven herds of Helios, the sun, and Ulysses sailing on the seventh day from Sicily and from Crete, and Agamemnon sending to Achilles seven tripods on taking an oath‡. It is well known that the Alexandrian Jew Aristobulus attributed to Homer and Hesiod certain verses, or falsified others, which were at a later period received as genuine by the Fathers of the Church§, with a view to establish the credibility of the supposition that these poets derived the sanctity of the seventh day from the Hebrews||. This fiction was however quite unnecessary, as other traces of the week are found among the ancients. The seventh day of each month—not of the month Thargelion alone—was held sacred as the birthday of Apollo, as well as the fourteenth

\* See Meursius in *Denario Pythagorico* (Lugd. 1631), p. 79 *seq.*; Vossius de *Idololatria*, ii. 34. Brucker, *Histor. Philos.* i. p. 1055. Plessing, *Osiris und Sokrates*, p. 280. Gedike, *Geschichte des Glaubens an die Heiligkeit der Zahl Sieben*, in the *Berlin Monatschr.* xviii. p. 494. Müller, *Glauben, etc. der Hindus*, i. p. 502. Hammer, in the *Encyclop. Uebersicht der Wissenschaften des Morgenlandes*, etc.

† *Odyss.* xiv. 20.

‡ *Odyss.* xii. 129, 399, xiv. 252, xv. 475. The ancient Arabians consecrated their alliances by seven stones, *Herod.* iii. 8.

§ Clemens Alex. p. 713; Potter, *Eusebius Præp.* 13, 13.

|| See Valckenaer de *Aristobulo Judæo Alexandrino Diatribe*; Lugdun. Batav. 1806.

day\*; and Æschylus says expressly that the god chose for himself the seventh day†. The number Four, on the other hand, was consecrated to Mercury at least as early as the time of Aristophanes, who makes Mercury mention the cake which he used to receive on the fourth‡. The sixth day was dedicated to Venus, and the offerings on that day were referred back to Pythagoras§. Ideler is of opinion that the division of the week according to the planets among the German nations was subsequent to the introduction of Christianity, and that they afterwards substituted heathen names of the gods for the Roman ones||. The ancient altar found at Mayence, with the gods of the days of the week—the Sun, Moon, Tyr or Mars, Wodan, Thor, Freya, and Sater—may be referable to a period before the Christian era¶; and the majority of opinions have coincided in this view, and indicated the common origin of the institution of the week\*\*. It undoubtedly originated with the

\* Valckenaer, *in loc. cit.* p. 108. Apollo therefore bears the name among the priests, “born on the seventh day,” Ἑβδομαγενής, and “commander of the seventh day,” Ἑβδομαγέτας. Plutarch, *Sympos. Quæst.* 8, 1. Among the Romans the number seven had a great significance (Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronol.* i. p. 89), and the seven courses round the circle in the Circusian Games were anciently referred to the planets.

† Æschylus, *Sept. c. Theb.* 797 :—

τὰς ἑβδομάς  
Ὁ σεμνὸς Ἑβδομαγέτας  
Ἀναξ Ἀπόλλων εἴλετ’.

‡ Plutarch, *Symposiarch.* ix. 3 : Ἑρμῇ δὲ μάλιστα τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἡ τετρὰς ἀνδραίεται, etc. Comp. Meursius *in loc. cit.* p. 46. Valckenaer *in loc. cit.* p. 113. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* p. 430.

§ Jamblichus, *Vit. Pythagor.* i. 28.

|| Ideler, *in loc. cit.* ii. p. 182.

¶ *Ibid.* ii. p. 623.

\*\* Heilbronner, *Hist. Mathes.* p. 65 : “Septimanarum non post Christianorum usum tandem Europæis, sed jam inde a prima haud dubie ex Asia in Europam migratione fuisse receptum.” Comp. Grotius *de Verit. Relig. Christ.* i. 16. Gesner *in Comment. Soc. Goett.* iii. p. 78. Schlegel, *Indische Biblioth.* ii. p. 179.

Chaldees, from whom astrological ideas flowed westward at so early a period, that a poem by Solon on the climacteral years was founded upon such a derivation\*. The Chaldeans, as Varro shows, considered seven to be a periodical number of the greatest influence†; and later tradition ascribes to them, as well as to the Egyptians, the institution of the days of the week‡. But this is also found among the Hindoos, with collateral circumstances: the number Seven is considered highly sacred, and is frequently mentioned in the Indian myths; as for instance in the seven holy Rishis, the seven horses of Surya, the seven tongues of Agnis, the seven-headed Dragon, the seven mouths by which the Ganges, like the Nile, empties itself into the sea, and the seven caverns of purification, which represent the same number of Mithra's gates. The planets were mentioned in ancient writings, and there exist even prayers appropriated to them§. They appear in the same legends as in other parts of Asia. Venus (here a male deity) and Mercury are lucky stars; Jupiter, as the instructor of the gods, was held in high honour; and on the contrary, Saturn (*Sanis, the Slow*), to whom, as a source of evil, the raven was dedicated, always appears as the token of ill luck, division, and the rainy period||. The days of the week were distributed by the Hindoos according to the planets, in our manner:—

\* See Weber, *Elegische Dichter der Hellenen*, p. 60.

† Varro, in *Gellius Noct. Attic.* iii. 10.

‡ Joan. Lydus *de Mensib.* p. 40, edit. Roether.

§ *Asiat. Res.* vii. p. 239.

|| Moor, *Hindúpanth.* p. 312. tab. 89; Porphyrius *de Abst.* 3, 4: "Ἀπαβες κοράκων ἀκούουσι. Comp. my *Commentat. de Molenabbio*, p. 50. Also Virgil (*Georg.* i. 388) says:—

"Tum cornix plena pluviam vocat improba voce."

For the representations of the Persians, see Hammer, *Fundgruben des Or.* i. p. 1, etc. Rhode (*ii.* p. 300) confounds all the planets, according to a print in Creuzer.

Day of the Sûryas . . . . .	or the Sun.
„ Chandras . . . . .	Moon.
„ Mangalas . . . . .	Mars.
„ Buddhas . . . . .	Mercury.
„ Vrihaspatis . . . . .	Jupiter.
„ Sukras . . . . .	Venus.
„ Sanis . . . . .	Saturn.

Among these days the Sunday was esteemed the most holy : it was the day of creation under the meridian of Lanka\*. At sunrise on this day begins the Kalpa, or a new world-period ; and it is said to be even still celebrated in some Indian countries with religious rites†. True it is that all these phenomena are insufficient to justify our inferring the necessary community of origin in one particular people, since each might easily be led to assign the planets as so many tutelary spirits to the days. This fact however is remarkable, that the days everywhere follow in the same order, without any reference to the respective distances of the stars in the heavens,—a problem which is only solved by the astrology of the East, and which renders it highly probable that the combination was originally made by one nation. Dio Cassius furnishes the key to this enigma by explaining more clearly what Herodotus had only intimated, viz. that the Egyptians first determined what deity presided over each month and day‡, and adding, that they assigned a planet not only to each day, but likewise to every hour§. The stars, throughout the whole of antiquity, were arranged according to what is called the Ptolemaic system : the Sun was, by an optical illusion, brought into the series ; and the reckoning began with the remotest planet, Saturn, under whose influence the first

\* Davis, in *Asiat. Res.* ii. p. 233.

† See Walther, *Doctr. Tempor.* p. 154. *Hitopadesa*, p. 18, edit. Lond. Moor, *Hindûpantheon*, p. 286. Schlegel, *Ind. Bibl.* ii. p. 178.

‡ Herodot. ii. 82.

§ Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 17, 18.

hour of the Saturday and Saturday itself were brought, until after constant repetition the twenty-fifth hour of Saturday, or the first hour of the Sunday, fell to the Sun\*. It is clear from this arrangement, that it could not have been made by the Hebrews, who were opposed to all astrology. They nationalized only the day of Saturn, connecting it with a beautiful reference; for it is expressly asserted that the Sabbath was instituted in remembrance of the Egyptian bondage†. The later age of the Chaldæan cosmogony in Genesis, which rests on the institution of the Week, is thus at the same time given. But the worship of Saturn, to which they had for a long time zealously adhered‡, was regarded as idolatry; for the Egyptians and Phœnicians considered this planet as the tutelary deity of the nation, as the originator of agriculture, the God of Justice (hence its Chaldæan name Kawàn, "just") and of the Happy Age. The Tyrians even offered boys in sacrifice to Saturn§. Now if the hours were derived from the Babylonians, as Hero-

\* The method is accordingly as follows:—

Saturn . . . 1	Saturn . . . 8	Saturn . . . 15	Saturn . . . 22
Jupiter . . . 2	Jupiter . . . 9	Jupiter . . . 16	Jupiter . . . 23
Mars . . . 3	Mars . . . 10	Mars . . . 17	Mars . . . 24
Sun . . . 4	Sun . . . 11	Sun . . . 18	Sun . . . 25
Venus . . . 5	Venus . . . 12	Venus . . . 19	etc., etc.
Mercury . . . 6	Mercury . . . 13	Mercury . . . 20	
Moon . . . 7	Moon . . . 14	Moon . . . 21	

The *διατέσσαρον*, or Pythagorean Fourth, which Dio also mentions, is far more artistic. Compare Marsham, *Chronic. Canon*, p. 197; Vossius, *De Theol. Gentil.* ii. 34; Salmasius *De Annis Climact.* p. 250; Gatherer, in *Comment. Soc. Goett.* vii. p. 10; Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronol.* i. p. 178.

† Deut. v. 15; Ezek. xx. 10; Nehem. ix. 14. The Hebrews were at the same time favoured by the similarity in sound of *Shabbat* (rest) with *Sapta*, seven, week, in the neighbouring language. The Septuagint even translates it sometimes by *ἐβδόμη*, the seventh day.

‡ Compare Amos v. 26, "Chium," Saturn; called "Remphan" in Acts vii. 43.

§ The proofs are found in Selden, *De Diis Syris*; and Jablousky, *Dissert. de Deo Remphan*.

dotus asserts, these people alone can contest with the ancient Hindoos the limitation and arrangement of the week; and the question between the two nations probably depends only on a more or less simple combination. In the first place it is most remarkable that the Hindoos arrived at their week-days in the very same way—by the division into hours—as Colebrooke has pointed out from Sanscrit writings\*, and, naturally in a Sabæan religion, they began with the Sunday; and thus their computation depended not on periods of twenty-four hours, but of sixty *muhurtas*, or hours, from the division of which results the backward reckoning of the days. Among other designations for the hour (*nāḍika*, *ghatika*), the Hindoos are acquainted with the word *hora*†; although this may perhaps be derived from *hod* or *hor*, to go; and *ōpa*, the etymology of which is uncertain, appears to have been first used by the later Greek astronomers, “when the sundials had been perfected at Alexandria‡.” We might nevertheless be inclined to regard the word as a foreign one in India, since it appears first in later books, which in other points also are connected with the West by the horoscopical divination theory§, and remind us of the Yavanas as astrologers. The Hindoo hour (*muhūrta*), on the contrary, is known to the Ramayana, and also to the book of laws||; but whilst here the civil day consists of thirty hours, the astronomical day comprises sixty hours of sixty minutes each, the minutes consisting of sixty seconds: and this very number in the arrangement of the week might carry considerable weight in favour of the Hindoos, as it enters in so many ways into the division of time. Moreover in early times the week was attributed to the Hindoos. Philostratus manifestly does so, even if the story is fictitious that a Brahmin gave

\* Colebrooke, *Asiat. Res.* v. p. 107; vii. p. 286.

† *Asiat. Res.* v. pp. 105, 109; *Transact.* ii. p. 62, Appendix.

‡ Ideler, *Handb. der Chronol.* i. p. 238.

§ Colebr., *Algebra of the Hindus*, Dissert. pp. 24, 80.

|| *Rāmāy.* i. 60, 10; *Manu* i. 64.



Apollonius seven rings, on which were inscribed the names of the planets, and of which he was daily to wear a fresh one on his finger according to the name of the day\*. These magic rings (*δακτύλιοι φαρμακῖται* in Hesychius), into which the powers of the stars had with certain forms of consecration been transferred, were thought to confer the power of destroying the influence of the hurtful planets†, and securing the assistance of the good planetary spirits, and to enable a person by their aid to become invisible: a belief which, from the ring of Gyges in Herodotus to that in Lucian in the *Lie-fancier*, and the stories in the *Thousand and One Nights*, has remained unchangeably the same,—the same astrological belief which appears in another form in the seven-coloured walls of Ecbatana and the metallic gates of the Mithra's cavern‡, and later in the alchemists who stamped the metals.

\* Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* iii. 41: *φησὶ δὲ ὁ Δάμις καὶ δακτυλίους ἑπτὰ τὸν Ἰδρχαν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ δοῦναι τῶν ἑπτὰ ἑπωνύμους ἀστέρων, οὓς φορεῖν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον κατὰ ἕνα πρὸς τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἡμερῶν.*

† Thence called persuasive magic spells, *βασκανίας προτρεπτικὰς*. Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 885.

‡ Origen *cont. Celsum*, vi. 22.



2. *Account of the composition, in the eighth century after Christ, of the Decretals of Isidore, designed to give authority and support to the Papacy\*.*

(From Gibbon's 'History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,' vol. vii. chap. 49, p. 34, relating to the time of Charlemagne.)

The Vatican and Lateran were an arsenal and manufacture, which, according to the occasion, have produced or concealed a various collection of false or genuine, of corrupt or suspicious acts, as they tended to promote the interest of the Roman Church. Before the end of the eighth century, some apostolical scribe, perhaps the notorious Isidore, composed the Decretals and the donation of Constantine, the two magic pillars of the spiritual and temporal monarchy of the Popes.

This memorable donation was introduced to the world by an epistle of Pope Adrian the first, who exhorts Charlemagne to imitate the liberality and revive the name of the great Constantine†.

According to the legend, Constantine, the first of the Christian emperors, was healed of leprosy, and purified in the waters of baptism, by St. Sylvester, the Roman bishop; and

\* See above, in this Work, vol. i. p. 269.

† "The holy Roman Church has been elevated and exalted by the liberality of the most pious Constantine the Great, who vouchsafed to bestow power on these Western parts. . . . Behold a new Constantine in these times, etc." (Codex Carolin., epist. 49, tom. iii. pars ii. p. 195). Pagi (Critica, A.D. 324, No. 16) ascribes these Decretals and the donation to an impostor of the eighth century, who borrowed the name of St. Isidore; his humble title of sinner, "Peccator," was ignorantly, but aptly, turned into "Mercator." His merchandise was indeed profitable, and a few sheets of paper were sold for much wealth and power.

never was physician more gloriously recompensed. His royal proselyte withdrew from the seat and patrimony of St. Peter, declared his resolution of founding a new capital in the East, and resigned to the Popes the free and perpetual sovereignty of Rome, Italy, and the provinces of the West\*.

This fiction was productive of the most beneficial effects.

The Greek princes were convicted of the guilt of usurpation, and the revolt of Gregory was the claim of his lawful inheritance. The Popes were delivered from their debt of gratitude, and the nominal gifts of the Carlovingians were no more than the just and irrevocable restitution of a scanty portion of the ecclesiastical state.

The sovereignty of Rome no longer depended on the choice of a fickle people; and the successors of St. Peter and Constantine were invested with the purple and prerogatives of the Cæsars.

So deep was the ignorance and credulity of the times, that the most absurd of fables was received with equal reverence, in Greece and in France, and is still enrolled among the decrees of the Canon Law†.

The Emperors and the Romans were incapable of discerning a forgery that subverted their rights and freedom; and the only opposition proceeded from a Sabine monastery, which, in the beginning of the twelfth century, disputed the truth and validity of the donation of Constantine‡.

\* Fabricius (Biblot. Græc. tom. vi. pp. 4-7) has enumerated the several editions of this Act in Greek and Latin. The copy which Laurentius Valla recites and refutes appears to have been taken either from the spurious acts of St. Sylvester, or from Gratian's decree, to which, according to him and others, it had been surreptitiously tacked.

† In the year 1059, it was believed (was it believed?) by Pope Leo IX., Cardinal Peter Damianus, etc. Muratori places (Annali d'Italia, tom. ix. pp. 23, 24) the fictitious donations of Lewis the Pious, the Othos, etc., de Donatione Constantini. See a dissertation of Natalis Alexander, seculum iv., diss. xxv. pp. 335-350.

‡ See a large account of the controversy (A.D. 1105), which arose from a

In the revival of letters and liberty, this fictitious deed was transpierced by the pen of Laurentius Valla,—the pen of an eloquent critic and a Roman patriot\*.

His contemporaries of the fifteenth century were astonished at his sacrilegious boldness; yet such is the silent and irresistible progress of reason, that, before the end of the next age, the fable was rejected by the contempt of historians† and poets‡, and the tacit or modest censure of the advocates of the Roman Church§.

private lawsuit, in the 'Chronicon Farsense' (Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. ii. pars ii. p. 637, etc.), a copious extract from the archives of that Benedictine abbey. They were formerly accessible to curious foreigners (Le Blanc and Mabillon), and would have enriched the first volume of the 'Historia Monastica Italiae,' of Quirini, but they are now imprisoned (Mura-tori, Scriptores R. I. tom. ii. pars ii. p. 269) by the timid policy of the Court of Rome; and the future Cardinal yielded to the voice of authority and the whispers of ambition (Quirini, Comment. pars ii. pp. 123-136).

\* I have read in the collection of Schardius (De Potestate Imperiali Ecclesiastica, pp. 734-780) this animated discourse, which was composed by the author A.D. 1440, six years after the flight of Pope Eugenius IV. It is a most vehement party pamphlet. Valla justifies and animates the revolt of the Romans, and would even approve the use of a dagger against their sacerdotal tyrant. Such a critic might expect the persecution of the clergy; yet he made his peace, and is buried in the Lateran. (Bayle, Dictionnaire Critique, *Valla*; Vossius, de Historicis Latinis, p. 580.)

† See Guicciardini, a servant of the Popes, in that long and valuable digression, which has resumed its place in the last edition, correctly published from the author's MS., and printed in four volumes in quarto, under the name of Friburgo, 1775. (Istoria d'Italia, tom. i. pp. 385-395.)

‡ The Paladin Astolfo found it in the moon, among the things that were lost upon earth (Orlando Furioso, xxxiv. 80):—

Di vari fiori ad un gran monte passa,  
Ch'ebbe già buono odore, or puzza forte:  
Questa era il dono (se però dir lece)  
Che Constantino al buon Silvestro fece.

Yet this incomparable poem has been approved by a bull of Leo X.

§ See Baronius, A.D. 324, No. 117-123; A.D. 1191, No. 51, etc. The Cardinal wishes to suppose that Rome was offered Constantine, and refused by Sylvester. The act of donation he considers, strangely enough, as a forgery of the Greeks.

The Popes themselves have indulged a smile at the credulity of the vulgar\*; but a false and obsolete title still sanctifies their reign, and by the same fortune which has attended the Decretals and the Sibylline oracles, the edifice has subsisted after the foundations have been undermined.

\* Baronius n'en dit guères contre; encore en a-t-il trop dit, et l'on vouloit sans moi (Cardinal du Perron), qui l'empêchai, censurer cette partie de son histoire. J'en devisai un jour avec le Pape, et il ne me répondit autre chose que "Che volete? i canonici la tengono:" il le disoit *en riant*. (Perroniana, p. 77.)

## HEBREW ALPHABET IN ENGLISH CHARACTERS.

	Finals.		Vowel Marks.
Aleph	א	' (a quiescent breathing).	—
Beth	ב	<i>v</i>	· . . . <i>a</i>
	בּ	<i>b</i>	
Gimel	ג	<i>g</i> (hard).	- . . . <i>ā</i>
Daleth	ד	<i>d</i>	.. . . . <i>é</i>
	דּ	<i>d</i>	
He	ה	' (aspirate).	· . . . <i>ě</i>
Vau	ו	<i>v</i>	· or — . . <i>i</i>
Zain	ז	<i>z</i>	
Cheth	ח	<i>ch</i> (guttural, as the Scotch <i>ch</i> in <i>loch</i> ).	· or — . . <i>o</i>
			·: or · . . <i>ō</i>
Teth	ט	<i>t</i>	
Yod	י	<i>y</i>	· . . . <i>u</i>
Kaph	כ    כּ	<i>k</i>	
Lamed	ל	<i>l</i>	· . . . <i>ū</i>
Mem	מ    מּ	<i>m</i>	
Nun	נ    נּ	<i>n</i>	
Samech	ס	<i>s</i>	
Ain	ע	' (a quiescent breathing).	
Pe	פ    פּ	<i>ph</i> or <i>f</i>	
	פּ	<i>p</i>	
Tzaddi	צ    צּ	<i>ts</i>	
Koph	ק	<i>k</i>	
Resh	ר	<i>r</i>	
Shin	ש    שׁ	<i>sh</i>	
	שׁ	<i>s</i>	
Tau	ת    תּ	<i>th</i>	
	תּ	<i>t</i>	

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